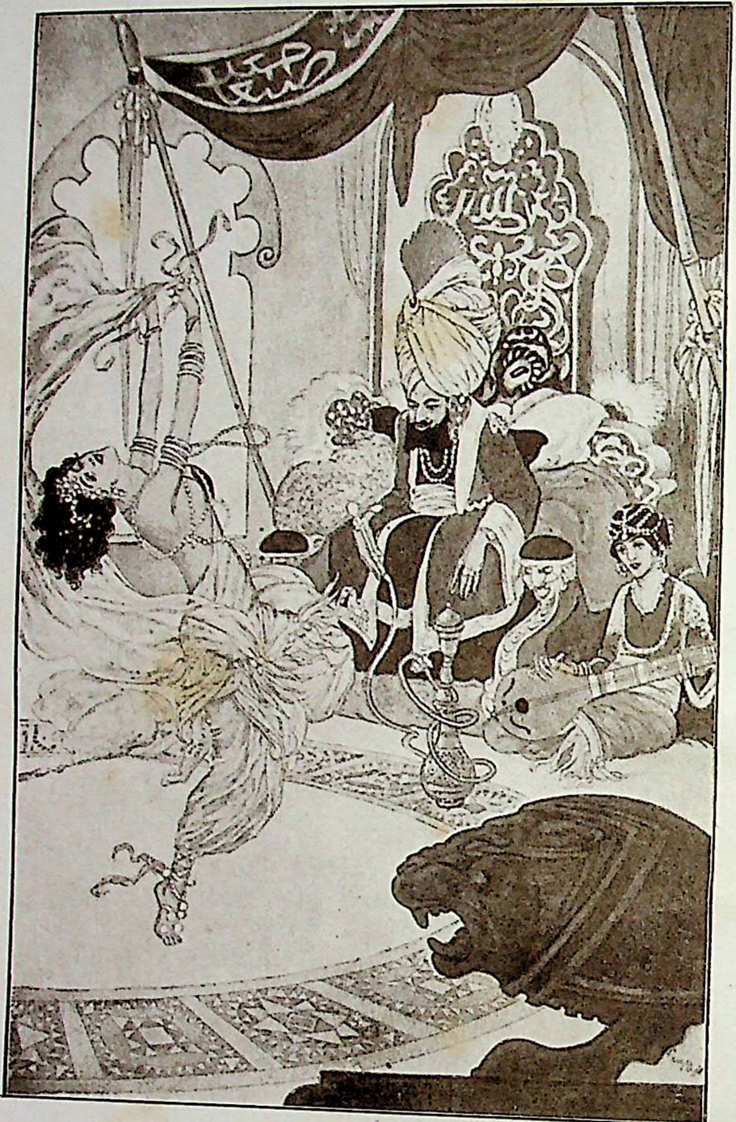
His Highness



"THE PRINCE"
From the painting by Rene Bull
COURTESY THE TRIBUTE

HIS HIGHNESS

OR

THE PATHOLOGY OF PRINCES

BY

K. L. GAUBA

THE LION PRESS
LAHORE

7th Impression

1945

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY S. A. LATIF AT THE LION PRESS
HOSPITAL ROAD, LAHORE

To

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE THIS SMALL EFFORT
AT THE TRUTH IS RESPECTFULLY
BUT WITHOUT PERMISSION
DEDICATED.

PREFACE

This book is neither a vendetta nor sermon. It is merely a study in pathology, an effort at diagnosis. It has taken a year to complete—three months to write and nine to decide whether it should be written. The Chamber of Princes' publicity schemes have been the determining factors. Its scope and its mission are explained in the pages that follow. It cannot, however, go out without the author's grateful acknowledgment to the sources of his information, and the kind friends, who have contributed materially to its compliments. The author is indebted to the Editor of *Princely India* for placing the volumes of his distinguished journal at his disposal. Of great help have also been Mr. P. L. Chudgar's *The Indian Princes under British Protection* (Williams and Norgate, Ltd. London 1929), and Colonel Alexander Powell's *The Last Home of Mystery* (Century Co., New York, 1929). For the view-point of the Princes on the many matters discussed, reference has been made to the two most important publications of the Special Organisation of the Chamber of Princes: *The British Crown and the Indian States* (P. S. King and Son, London, 1928) and *Scraps of Paper* (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1930). The view-point of States subjects is culled from the proceedings of various States Peoples' Conferences; their representation to the Butler Committee; from the writings of Sir M. Visheswar Iyer, the famous ex-Dewan of Mysore, Mr. Ranga Iyer, author of *India: Peace or War?* (Harrap, London, 1930) and of Mr. K. M. Pannikar, of the Foreign Department of Jammu and Kashmir and now Secretary to the Princes' Delegation to the Round Table Conference. The author is also indebted to various Government of India publications, of which the chief is, of course, the *Report of the Indian States Committee*, popularly referred to as the Ruler Report (Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta). Of great use have been Professor Gurmukh Singh's brilliant essay *Indian States and British India* (N. K. and Bros., Benares 1930), Sir Lee Warner's classic, *The Native States of India* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1910), Miss Yvonne Fitzroy's *Courts and Camps in India* (Methuen & Co., London), and Savel Zimand's *Living India* (Macmillan & Co., New York). The comparative figures of the

civil lists of monarchs in other parts of the world in Chapter III are based upon figures in the *Statesman's Year Book* (1930). Of the many persons whose co-operation has contributed to the early publication of this book, the author must single out a friend in the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India (who must for obvious reasons, remain anonymous) who has read the MSS. and found "there is no exaggeration. You could have said a great deal more." To Mr. Gian Chand Rampal and Mr. F. W. Bustin, both of the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, for valuable suggestions and a survey of the MSS. This book has been written in moments of leisure—few and far between, and therefore among the last, but by no means the least, of obligations is one to my wife for the hours stolen in the writing of this book—hours which were strictly hers. She has also designed the cover and some of the chapter headings, providing the relief from the monotonies of print.

The writer's and publishers' obligations are also due to the *Tribute* for the frontispiece from the delightful painting by Rene Bull.

K. L. GAUBA

CONTENTS

Pages

CHAPTER I

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION 11

CHAPTER II

FOOLING THE WORLD 17

CHAPTER III

KINGSHIP IN THEORY AND PRACTICE . . . 41

CHAPTER IV

VIRGINS PREFERRED 99

CHAPTER V

" SWEETHEART WE NEED EACH OTHER ! " . . 133

CHAPTER VI

ULSTERS BY THE HUNDRED 173

CHAHTER VII

THE PATHOLOGY OF PRINCES . . . 193

CHAPTER I

By Way of Introduction

John Bull is a famous old gentleman. Born about 1770, he is reported to be still going strong. Perhaps not as strong as the Scotch distilleries would have us believe, but perfectly virile, a fact to which Miss Katherine Mayo will, perhaps, be able to testify. He has changed into a tweed suit and a bowler from a doublet and trunk hose in which he is conventionally caricatured. He is sufficiently conservative and old-fashioned, not to change his Morris-Cowley for a codillac or "sixteen cylinders." While he lost the "Ashes," and the "Blue Riband of the Atlantic" and Shamrock V proved a dud, he still holds the record as the world's greatest air, water and road hog. He is garrulous but endowed with an ample measure of common-sense. At times he is a little pig-headed. He is perhaps the best loser in the world. His business—the Empire—would be twice as successful, if he modified his outlook and some of his policies. The world has moved a great deal in the one odd century that he has dominated its life.

While John Bull still seems to remember the unhappy incidents at the Boston Tea Party, he has nevertheless hopes of good results in an English-speaking consummation. He wooes—successfully—the pick of American heiresses, who, no doubt, prove to be the cream in his coffee. His domestic affairs are not without their worries. A brood of growing daughters and not a single one quite settled for life Canada has hopes in the young fellow across the border. South Africa wants no more parental interference and claims the right of any twentieth century young lady to form her own friendships—and to try, try again. Australia is much the same. India has ways and ways all her own. She too is growing rapidly. Maturity comes earlier in the East.

Much more could be said about our friend, but this book is not concerned with the big business John Bull runs from Parlia-

ment Street and Leadenhall. In fact it little concerns him at all except as a reminder of certain promises made and duties undertaken.

Bismarck is reported to have been very fond of enlarging upon a favourite theory of the male and female European nations. The Germans themselves, the three Scandanavian peoples, the Dutch, the English proper, the Scotch, the Hungarians, and the Turks he declared to be essentially male nations. The Russians, the Poles, the Bohemians, and indeed every Slavonic people, and all Celts, he maintained just as emphatically to be female races. A female race, he somewhat ungallantly defined as one given to immense verbosity, to fickleness, and lack of tenacity. He conceded, however, to these feminine races some of the peculiarities of their sex, and acknowledged that they had great powers of attraction and charm when they chose to exert them, and also a fluency of speech denied to the more virile nations. He maintained stoutly that it was quite useless to except efficiency in any form from the female races. The Bismarckian analysis applied to this country, we can clearly discern British India as the male and the Indian States as the female respectively. In the India, in which we live, we have the counter-party of a fine growing manhood, the virility of youth. In the States you have all the attractiveness of fine clothes, fine living, love and the extravagance associated with the elegant and sensuous female.

While John Bull and British India have happily their sex in common, the existence of the feminine element is a disturbing factor in their mutual affairs. That in the ultimate, a union between the two Indias is inevitable, there can be no doubt. A trial marriage or temporary alliance with the Indian States would be the worst thing that could happen to John Bull and the happiness of the Empire as a whole. This book is a warning, and a piece of friendly advice addressed in the main to our friend John Bull. God does not look kindly on unnatural alliances.

More is going on behind the scenes than most people know or can estimate. There is the tide of democracy rising in India and rising fast. There are the cross eddies of world affairs. It is certain that the Princes no less than others have their ears to the ground and their eyes fixed anxiously on the political horizon, for they see and hear the signs of the approaching storm. The Princes find their position anomalous and perplexing. They hate the domination of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government

of India, they hate being ridden, whether on the snaffle or on the curb, but they are torn between a desire to shake off these controls and the fear that without British support their days are numbered. The Bulter Committee who investigated the affairs of the Princes in their relation to the Paramount Power had three divergent policies to reconcile. There was the Government of India seeking justification for its control upon the administration of the States, there was the view-point of the States for the larger exercise of their autonomy. There was the clandestine movement of the major States to swallow up the minor States. As one of the advisers to the Princes' delegation at the time expressed to the writer, "How can you expect efficient government from a State with only 20,000/- as revenue ? We must take them over." And many States do not even have 20,000/- though these Mikados enjoy the prefix of " His Highness." The Butler Committee steered a middle course. It established the Paramountcy in India beyond any shadow of doubt. It did very little for the Princes, except to recommend that they be not transferred to the tutelage of a dominion government without their consent. The Princes still hope that, at the Round Table Conference, in the melee they will be able to shake off Simla altogether. In John Bull's embarrassment they hope to drive hard bargains.

The preparation and work on behalf of the Princes has been thorough. Doleful tales of their broken treaties, pretty stories of their munificence, brave descriptions of their progressive administrations, their frugal wants, and their diligent performance of their responsibilities. Such propaganda may pass for current coin in England but India knows too well that it is mere counterfeit.

When, not long ago, a play entitled " The Green Goddess" was produced on a London stage, probably most of them who saw it felt that the part of the Indian Raja was overdrawn. That the ruler of an Indian State, no bigger than one of the smaller counties, a sophisticated oriental who wore a turban with a faultless dinner jacket, and spoke an Oxford accent, should attempt to force a beautiful young English girl into his zenana, in the belief that he could successfully do it, and that, when retribution appeared in the form of Royal Air Force bombing planes, he should implore the protection of a stone goddess, seemed altogether fantastic and far-fetched. As a matter of fact, the author of the play, Mr. William Archer, had produced a by no means exaggerated picture, and it is safe to say that it was a composite picture

of several Indian Princes, who could be identified by any one familiar with Indian affairs. For, as is generally recognised, almost anything can happen in these feudal kingdoms whose rulers enjoy a degree of power, a freedom from interference, which makes them comparable to the despots of ancient history. And among these Princes are no doubt characters every whit as theatrical and anomalous as the Raja in Mr. Archer's bright play.

This book is not concerned with the romantic and picturesque aspects of life in the States, which one so often comes across. This book is concerned with and confined to "hard boiled" facts, uncontroversial data and unimpeachable authority. It is not an attack on any individual prince or any individual state. It is an attack,—if attack at all – on the system that enables the practice on three score millions of the human race pre-Runnymede theories, and the perpetuation of antidiluvian anomalies. The treatment of the subject is not, however, free from difficulties. Propositions without illustrative example and authority are unconvincing. But every effort has been made to curtail references to individual Princes to a minimum, and where such references are of a personal nature to leave them anonymous. There is no great measure of literature either in English or in the vernaculars on the administration of various particular States but such publications have been avoided for the reasons above stated. Upon these principles rigorously adhered to no reference will be found to the *Indictment of Patiala*, or any other publication of a personal nature. It is impossible, however, to overlook the official publications such as the *Administration Reports, Scraps of Paper, The British Crown and the Indian States*, and the rest of freelance literature published at the instance of the Chamber's Special Organization in England and in the United States. It is in the interest of their seventy million subjects, it is in the interest of India and the Empire as a whole, it is in the interest of the Princes themselves, that the truth should be told. Very little that is "new" will be found in this book, but for all that it is a human document—truth may sometimes seem strange, at times it may appear fictitious, in cumulative array it may even be incredible. The truth told in these pages will appear strange, fictitious, and unbelievable. It may at times be ugly and staggering. Everywhere it is naked. Truth in a Palace, dressed, may be picturesque, undressed, it may be starling.

There is not much to choose between the majority of larger or

smaller States. As a Rani once confided to the author : " I am sorry ours is the most exalted yet corrupt class in this country. I often tell my husband that unless he is different from his brother Princes he will go the way they are going." A few more Ranis like this one, even though some may suffer in the wells of loneliness, would work wonders. Were India a prosperous country, rich in economic development, there might be less ground for the criticism for the ways and extravagance of the Princely order. But India is far from rich and prosperous, according to standards in other countries of the world. Millions of peasants in India struggle through life on an half acre. Their dwellings are of mud. An incredible proportion live on one meal in the day. Their existence is a life-long battle with hunger, ending, alas, often in defeat.

The problem of the Princes—incorrectly referred to generally as the problem of the States—will be before the Round Table Conference. The Princes will fight hard and bitterly for the maintenance of the *status quo*, at least so far as *they* are concerned. Bad habits are always difficult to break but of these autocracy is the most difficult. Those who have power do not find it easy to give it up. And when to that power is added fortune and abondonment without any serious risk of the consequence, it becomes next to impossible. The Princes look with apprehension upon the advancing tides of democracy in British India. There is only one and one way to avoid the fate that inevitably overtakes all anachronisms and that is to recognise the signs of the times, the danger signals upon the horizon.

But will the members of the Chamber of Princes and others of their order clothe their authority in modern garments ? Will they introduce representative institutions and vest their power in free representatives of their people ? Will they modify and curtail their wants as Kings have done in other parts of the world ?

It is unlikely that any such self-sacrifice will be forthcoming. The Princes and their representatives will talk of their treaties, they will talk of their loyalty, they will mention the War services, they will further reiterate their personal devotion in the cause of progress, they will refer to their administrations as Utopias, they will prove the ignorance and unfitness of their subjects for responsible Government. Their claim will seem reasonable, their reasoning plausible.

As for the treaties, are they so sacrosanct, that they have never been transgressed ? Are they the last words of human progress ? Can mere loyalty to the Crown colour-wash the dark spots of despotism ? Who paid in blood and money the tolls of War ? Is progress to be measured in the patronage of Night clubs, the escort of kitten-eyed flappers down Paris boulevards or the chase of " hours with flying feet " in the arms of demimondaines in the fashionable jazz mosques at Deauville and Biarritz ? Are their administrations the Utopias that they would have us believe ? Why do so many of this exalted order find no spots in their own states, or in fact any spot anywhere in this wide country worth living in many months of the year ? During the strenuous labours of a session of the Chamber of Princes over the period of a fortnight, how many polo ponies, how many bottles of champagne, how many lewd women are necessary to maintain princely energies at par ? Answer to these questions may be sought for round the famous Table in London.

His subjects may be ignorant ; they may be unfit for responsible Government. But is there any difference in the fitness to rule between the Prince and his people ?

The lights please !

CHAPTER II

Fooling the World

Old institutions in time yield their place to new. But when the change is the result of violence alone, the institutions may soon find a new lease of life under new names. Disappearance is definite only when an institution has ceased to believe seriously in its mission, in its force, in its *raison d'etre.*

It is in this manner that aristocracy has practically disappeared in Continental Europe. It is also disappearing in England and in Japan, which is the only country in the non-European world where aristocracy—though under different titles—had the same chivalrous and feudal origin and development as in the West.

Until ten years ago there were two aristocratic oases in Europe, and these were Austria and Hungary. In Germany, in spite of all the smart regiments, in spite of all the pride of the Prussian Junkers, the structure of the States was already a middle-class regime. There was no general servile admiration for an Imperial ruler, whose limitations were guessed, in spite of the intellectual slavery that existed during the Bismarckian period, and allowed shortly after.

As to English aristocracy, for many decades its powers, prestige and privileges have drifted slowly to the populace. The death-knell of aristocratic rule was sounded by David Lloyd George at the Lime House. Stemmed temporarily by the War, the movement, in recent years, has been constant and increasing. Though the War may be said to have saved the aristocracy of England, rates, taxes, death duties, have multiplied to such an extent that many of the great landlords—dukes to begin with—are selling their properties slice after slice, or turning them into private joint-stock companies in order to escape taxation.

But these are mere transition tricks. When a Duke or Marquis becomes a director with a salary in the company created with his estate he is no longer the man he used to be. A new atmosphere swallows him up—and the day when he is going to sell all his land to speculators is not far distant. His hereditary pride gone, why should he keep a formal link with something, whose spirit has already disappeared ?

But does it matter ? Aristocracy, fast disappearing as it is in various parts of the world, still has a long lease of life—in novels and in the movies. Dead or dying, in Europe, aristocracy has also a fairly stout existence in India, sheltered as it is from external and internal danger, in the sturdy arms of John Bull.

" But the vague unrest—we will call it the awakening of national consciousness for want of a better term—the disposition to question constituted authority, which has swept all Asia in recent years, has not left the Indian States untouched. The people may be as respectful to their Princes as ever, and perhaps as loyal, but they are more disposed to stand upon their rights, less willing to accept autocratic decisions blindly. Save, in some of the remoter and less progressive States, the people no longer regard their rulers as demi-gods who can do no wrong." (*Last Home of Mystery*, p. 90).

2

The area enclosed within the boundaries of India is 1,773,000 square miles, with a population of 315,132,000 of people—nearly one-fifth of the human race. But of this total very large part is not under direct administration of the Government of India. The area covered in the Indian States is 675,000 square miles with a population of about seventy millions. The Indian States embrace the widest variety of country and jurisdiction. They vary in size from petty States like Lawa, in Rajputana, with an area of 19 square miles, and the Simla Hill States which are little more than small holdings, to States like Hyderabad, as large as Italy, with a population of twelve and a half millions. They include the inhospitable regions of Western Rajputana, Baroda aptly described as the Garden of India, Mysore, rich in agricultural wealth, and Kashmir, where the sunset turns to flame and the emerald lies snugly hedged with diamonds.

"In the Indian States nature assumes its grandest and its simplest forms. The eternal snows of the Himalayas gather up and enshrine the mystery of the East and its ancient lore. The enterprise of old world western adventure now slumbers by the placid lagoons of Travancore and Cochin. The parched plains of Rajputana and Central India with their hilly fastnesses recall the romance and chivalry of days that still live and inspire great thoughts and deeds. The hills and plains of Hyderabad and Mysore, famed for gems and gold, for rivers, forests, waterfalls still cry out great names of history. Over the dry trap plateau of the Deccan swept the marauding hosts of the Mahrattas, eating here and drinking there, right up to ancient Delhi. From the west, the ports of Kathiawar with their busy progressive people stretch out hands to the jungles of Manipur in the east with their primitive folk and strange practices." *(Buller Committee Report,* para. 12*)*.

British India is divided into provinces with Provincial Governments of their own, slowly becoming more and more autonomous, with a strong Central Government ultimately responsible to the British Parliament, forming in all one political unit. But the Indian States, 562 in number, do not form a single political unit. They are separate political entries. Each is separately administered and has no connection with the administration of other States. Their mutual relations are not regulated by them but by the Paramount Power. And it is only recently that the Indian Princes have gained the right of meeting together to discuss matters of common concern and to take concerted action for the redress of common grievances. In fact there is nothing common between them except that they are all autocratically governed and few in the interests of their subjects. It is, therefore, wrong to speak of them as *Indian India,* or as if they formed a single unit comparable in any way to British India. (Vide *Indian States and British India,* p. 2.)

What is called *Indian India* is, therefore, not one political unit but a conglomeration of States, large and small, as heterogeneous a collection that one can think of.

3

The problems of the Indian States vary largly from State to State and Agency to Agency. But in the main the questions resolve themselves into those relating to (1) Internal administration (2)

Relations with the Paramount (3) the Economic fabric. Each of these aspects will be considered in its proper place but it should be remembered that conditions vary widely between one State and another. Because the Nizam is permitted to mint his own coinage and print his own stamps and do very much as he pleases—Col. Trench concurring—with the money he collects from his nobles, it is not to be supposed that the same constitutional position arises in considering the problems arising from the Laharu State. Nor is it to be supposed that because the rulers of a few States like Mysore and Baroda have introduced modern institutions that the majority or even a large number of Princes have done or are doing the same or that the states as a whole are well administered. Because there is no non-co-operation movement in the States, it is equally erroneous to suppose that there is no discontent or that the people are happy. Because the capital of a particular principality is laid out as a garden city, it doþes not imply that the general conditions in the state are as flourishing. If a Prince speaks English, he is not necessarily modern. If he has established a Legislative Assembly, it is probably a farce.

The importance of the Indian States is generally emphasized on the basis of area and population. The India of the States comprises roughly one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of the land that stretches from Gilgit to Cape Comorin, and from the Kabul River to the frontiers of Siam. Mr. Nicolson, writing for the Princes, sneers at the Swarajists and political classes who " can only make a limited appeal.". (*Scraps of Paper*, p. 20.) " The vote which empowered Indians to deal with ' transferred ' subjects of government was given to 7,500,000 out of the population of 250 millions and only half of those enfranchised voted. It is from among the ' literates ' of the middle clases that the comparatively small political class are recruited, who form the Swarajist or Home Rule Parties." (*Ibid*, p. 19.) It may be true that the Swarajist or Home Ruler is a *sarpet bager*, it may be true that 7½ millions are not adequately representative of 250 millions, but what about the States ? The problem of the States is not the problem of seventy million people or 675,000 square miles of territory, it is the problem of five hundred Princes, a few Czars ; it is little more than the problems of their lives, their palaces, their women and their pleasures. The sovereignty and the integrity that John Bull guaranteed to some of the States a century ago constitute the back-waters of reaction, unaffected by the flowing tides of the twentieth century, harbouring the barbarism and the morals of the Middle Ages.

In the words of the Bulter Report, the term Indian States covers " at one end of the scale, Hyderabad with an area of 82,700 square miles, with a population of 12,500,000 and a revenue of 6½ crores of rupees or about £5,000,000 and at the other end of the scale, minute holdings in Kathiawar amounting in extent to a few acres only and even, in certain cases, holdings which yield a revenue not greater than the annual income of an ordinary artisan. It includes also States economically, politically and administratively advanced, and States, patriarchal, or quasi-feudal in character which still linger in a medieval atmosphere ; States like Mysore and Travancore and States which are under purely autocratic administration. The one feature common to them all is that they are not part or governed by the law of British India." But though conditions vary from state to state and qualities from ruler to ruler, there are some wide general characteristics that form the hypothesis of this work.

4

Of all the States the most important from the view-point of size, population and revenue are the Nizam's " Dominions." The revenues of the Hyderabad State are about double that of any other State and equivalent to about 6½ crores in Government of India Currency. The State is about the size of Italy and has a population of over twelve millions. The State has had several generations of able administrators, and while the development of the State is nothing comparable to what it might and could be, it is not on the whole unsatisfactorily administered. The great majority of the population is Hindu and the Ruler is a Muslim. Unlike the general trait of his co-religionists, the Nizam is frugal to a freak. It is a matter of doubt whether Henry Ford or the Nizam is the richer. Henry Ford has amassed the most fabulous fortune in modern times on the idiosyncracies of a tin " lizzy," the Nizam has accumulated an almost incredible hoard of gold and jewellery by the most extraordinary methods ever devised for raising money.

If the Hyderabad State is the most important from the standpoint of size and wealth, the Mysore State has the enviable reputation of being the best administered of the Indian States. In the opinion of Miss Yvonne Fitzroy, who was for many years closely connected with the Viceregal Court, the Maharaja is " the only Prince who has granted a genuine constitution to his people,

and his rule is extraordinarily enlightened and progressive." (*Courts and Camps in India*, p. 167).

The history of Mysore is a romantic one. In 1831, the administration was taken over by the British Government. The finances were in a deplorable condition. Fifty years later, in 1881, the State was restored to the old dynasty under conditions and stipulations laid down in the instrument of transfer. Since then Mysore has made rapid strides both in the development of its natural resources and in representative institutions. In many quarters it is the opinion that in some aspects the administrations of Mysore and Travancore are ahead of Britis India. This book is, however, concerned with the rule rather than with the exception. Mysore, Travancore and some others are exceptions. They are cited by way of contrast as to what might be and what actually is.

Jammu and Kashmir is also important—stretching from the Table Lands of the Karakoram, " where three empires meet," to the plains of the Punjab. The total area is over 80,000 square miles but with a population of only 40 to a square mile. The revenue of the State is about 2½ crores, considerably less than the potentialities indicated in the surveys of the valleys. The State is one on which the British Government is reported to have had for many years an eye. It is not unlikely that on the death of the present Ruler—if died heirless—it would have lapsed to the Crown to be turned into another Kenya. (For the benefit of the natives of course).

The Government of India is represented directly to the more important States. Those less important are represented through various Agencies. As to the power exercised by Residents and Agents, we shall have more to say later, but generally the Agencies keep their hands off the workings of the internal machinery. In matters in which the Paramount Power is interested, the " whisper of the Residency is the thunder of the State."

The Rajputana Agency consists of several Sub-Agencies and watches the interest of the Paramount Power in twenty-one States. Among those under the surveyance of this Agency, the most important are Bikaner, ruled by the Maharaja with the golden tongue, and Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur. There is Alwar, whose services are recruited from photographs (not to be returned), there is Bharatpur, whose late ruler was notorious for the bills he left unpaid, there is Lawa with only 19 square miles of territory

and a population of only 2,000 persons.

"Gratitude-honour-fidelity," these have been described as the foundation of Rajput character. "Ask a Rajput," says Tod in his famous chronicle, "which is the greatest of crimes?" He will reply, "Forgetfulness of favours." Add to this a high and reckless courage, a jealous sense of honour, extreme pride of race, chivalrous consideration for women—the women of the race were worthy of their lords, there could be no higher praise—a passionate love of faith and freedom, and you have some, at least, of the material that has gone to the making of their incomparable story.

In the Central India Agency, Indore is the most important State. It has the conspicuous record of having had three successive rulers deposed—the latest over pretty Mumtaz Begum.

Bhopal ranks next in importance to Hyderabad among the Islamic States of India. The present ruler is a graduate in arts, which is among the most creditable of his performances. He is one of the world's greatest polo players and devotes himself to the game for four months in the year.

The territories under the rule of Indian Princes and Chiefs in the Bombay Presidency extend over an area of 28,039 square miles. The characteristic feature of the Bombay States is the great number of petty principalities, about 151 in all. The recognition of these very numerous jurisdictions is due to the circumstances that the early Bombay administrators were induced to treat the *de facto* exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction by a landholder as carrying with it a quasi-sovereign status. In no part of India is there a greater variety of principalities. Some of the largest are of modern origin, having been founded by the Marathas in the general scramble for power in the middle of the 18th century, but the Rajput houses in the Gujarat Agencies date from earlier times. Interesting traces of ancient history are to be found at Sachin and Ganjira, where chiefs of foreign ancestry, descended from Abyssinian admirals of the Deccan fleets, still remain. A few aboriginal chiefs, Bhils or Kolis, exercise very limited authority in the Dangs and the hilly country that fringes the Mahi and the Narbada rivers.

5

The variety of the relations which under the terms of the

several treaties, subsist between the British Government and the rulers of the different States, and the general superintendence exercised by Government as the Paramount Power, necessitate the presence of an Agent or representative of Government at the principal Courts. The smaller and less important States are either grouped together under the general supervision of a Political Agent or are looked after by the Collectors of the districts which they adjoin. The position of the Agent varies, roughly speaking, with the importance of the State. In some cases he does nothing more than give and exercise a general surveillance. In other cases, the Agents are invested with a direct share in the administration, while States, the rulers of which are minor, are directly managed by Government officers or under arrangements approved by Government. Some of the States are subordinate to other States and not in direct relations with the British Government. In these cases the status of the feudatories is usually guaranteed by Government. The powers of the chiefs are regulated by treaties and custom, and range downwards to a mere right to collect revenue in a share of a village without criminal or civil jurisdiction, as in the case of the petty chiefs in the Mahi Kantha and Rewa Kantha Agencies.

Cooch Behar is the most important State under the Bengal Government. The ruler is a minor and under the regency of his mother. The Maharani is well known in London Society and administers the State mainly from London, where she hunts, flies and lives the life of her class.

The thirteen salute States of the Punjab were transferred to the political charge of the Government of India in 1921. Of the more important Patiala, Bahawalpur, Nabha, Kapurthala and Mandi may be mentioned. By far the largest is Patiala, whose ruler, warm-hearted and generous, is the present Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and comprises more than one-sixth the area, one-third of the population and one-half of the entire revenue of the States in this area. Bahawalpur has recently come into prominence in the reclamation schemes arising out of the Sutlej Valley Irrigation Projects. The Maharaja of Jind has the best kennels in the country, the dogs being valued at several thousand of pounds sterling. The Maharaja of Kapurthala is the most travelled of India's Princes having been feted and honoured in most of the Courts of the world, and owns among other decorations the Legion d'Honneur from the French Government and possesses also the Grand Cross of the Order of Carlos 3rd, of Spain, Grand Cross

of the Order of the Star of Roumania, Grand Cross of the Order Manelet of Abyssinia, Grand Cordon of the Order of Morocco, Grand Cordon of the Order of Chilli, Grand Cordon of the Order of Tunis, Grand Cross of the Order of the Sun of Peru, and Grand Cross of the Order of Cuba.

The United Provinces contain Rampur, Tehri Gharwal and Benares. The administration of any of these States is not such that need make us tarry long. The Maharaja of Benares is notorious for his indiscretion. His references to affairs in British India savour a great deal of the old old story of the pot and kettle.

6

On analysis only forty States can be deemed to come in category of what may be called "Larger States," that in States having an income of 10 lacs and over. According to the classification of an erudite member of the Servants of India Society, out of 562 States, as many as 454 States have an area of less than 1,000 sq. miles, 442 States have less than 1,000,000 population and 374 States have revenue less than a lack of rupees. It is only some thirty, among the 562 States, that possess the area, population and resources of an average British Indian district. As many as 15 States have territories under a square mile. Three of these States cannot boast of a population of 100 souls. Five have a revenue of Rs. 100. The smallest revenue mentioned is Rs. 20 for the year and the smallest population 32 souls.

We shall in subsequent chapters consider in further detail the administrative machinery of the States. Suffice it here to note that everything considered, the average Indian State has a particular charm for the moneyed class of pleasure-seekers, the world tourist, the cold weather pedagogue, the itinerant Duchess and the decadent Duke. Here free from the trammels of convention and the eyes of prying neighbours, rulers, officials and sardars "indulge in the most reckless forms of amusement, spending money like water in excesses which have to be seen to be believed." Of the many factors conducive to these extravagancies, not the least is a latent atmosphere of "it does not matter." In these slums of the Middle Ages, a man is known by the number of women he keeps. The history of a state is incomplete unless it is associated with its voluptuousness, its extravagance and its vice.

The present government in some of the Indian States is abnormal

in the world of to-day,—a belated example of those crude forms of politics which the rest of India has outgrown. Turning to the existing monarchies of to-day, almost without exception, they are "limited" by the resolutions of a popular parliament. The subjects of other monarchies have a distinct and often imperative voice in the conduct of public affairs. In an Indian State, as in a Roman Province, force cures the want of system; arrogant domination serves instead of adequate machinery; a genius for intrigue and for open subjugation takes the place of wise legislation. The world is made use of rather than administered. These conditions are slowly disappearing but have not disappeared altogether in any of the states as yet. It can be said with regard to an Indian Ruler that "He is absolute over his subjects not only—ancient despots were that—but over all laws also,—which no ancient despot was." Such a state of things must grow to be a danger, indeed, a menace to the Indian National or Federal State.

Society, like other organisms, can be changed only by evolution and evolution is the antidote of revolution. The public order is preserved because order inheres the character of society. The forms of government do not affect the essence of government. The bayonets of the tyrant, the quick concert and superior force of an organised minority, the latent force of self-governed majority,—all these depend upon the organic character and development of the community. The obedience of the subject to the Sovereign has its root in contract and in the force,—that is provided to the Sovereign to punish disobedience, but that force must be backed by the general habit. Sometimes power is abused and then guns become the final argument of fools. The better government of all times,—those which rest, not upon the armed strength of governors, but upon the consent of the governed,—are formed on considerations of laws whose source and sanction have been the habit of the community. The force which they embody is not the force of a dominant dynasty, or of a prevalent minority; but the force of an agreeing majority. The State exists for the sake of the individual, and recognises no rights which are independent of personal rights. The sanction of every rule not founded upon sheer military despotism, is the consent of the people. Only monarchs who seek to serve their subjects can be said to be safe on their thrones. A monarch can exist only by democratic consent.

7

Among John Bull's various and diverse promises made from

time to time, not the least important refer to the Indian States. Even as late as the 8th February, 1921, Whitehall speaking through the King, who further spoke through an Uncle, referred to the Princes :

> "*In my former Proclamation I repeated the assurance given on many occasions by my Royal Predecessors and myself, of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable.*"

But it must be admitted, like other promises, the Proclamation of 1921 was soon lost in the quicksands of the archives of the Government of India. Between 1921 and 1928 the rulers of two major States, Indore and Nabha, were—otherwise known as voluntary abdication—deposed, Udaipur was forced to make substantial changes in the administration of his State, the Nizam was also snubbed when he presumed to claim for the return of a valuable province (taken, to say the least, in shady circumstances), and Bharatpur was ordered to face an Enquiry. (How he escaped actual deposition is still a mystery). Many other States received tokens of the kind of paternal paramountcy for which the Political Department has become famous. It was therefore that the States pooled many lacs of rupees to import Sir Leslie Scott to define the limits—if limits it had—of the benevolent paramountcy and according to reports, spent several thousands of pounds to indicate the *Scraps of Paper* that the Government of India "trampled and tore."

This book is not a defence of the Political Department, nor does it grudge the tidy fortunes distributed in recent years by the costly publicity organisation of the Princes individually and collectively, for it vast sums of money had not gone into the pockets of the legal and Fleet Street fraternities, (some members of whom have rendered such single-purposed devotion to the cause of Princes), the funds would have in all likelihood found their way to the makers of aristocrats in cars, or perhaps opened the pyjamas of the demimondaines parisiennes.

The States loom large on the political horizon of India. For many decades following the famous Proclamation of the Queen, the States were forgotten back-waters in the rolling tides of time. Now and again the pledges to the Princes were renewed and the sanctity

of treaties reiterated, but their affairs were in the main left to the municipal administration of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. The War, however, changed the entire figures of the kaleidoscope. John Bull gave up his bed in Mayfair and slept in Montmartre. He found new friends and strange allies—among them were the Cowboys of Australia and the Princelings of India. The Cowboys were dashing, the Princelings were lavish—both won the heart of the English Rose.

Poor John Bull having won the War, however, lost the Peace. America helped herself to the parcels of commerce, Afghanistan stopped paying her instalments, Germany glutted the coal markets of Europe, Frank Hodges and Robert Smillie added to the overheads, while Gandhi stole the receipts. War debts proved easier to raise than to liquidate, and promises hard to fulfil. India was frantic—John Bull was distracted. The result for the Princes was, what Gerhaldi describes, as a strange mixture of the inferiority and superiority complex. Inferiority, because of the prejudices to which they found themsleves exposed in certain official circles—superiority, because they found themselves little kings and queens, while really being the equivalents of feudal barons.

This explains in brief the new problem of the States. It is new in two distinct particulars. First the assumption of parity with the Paramount Power, and secondly the interference in the affairs of what is popularly known as British India. There are two domains upon which the Indian politician, has, as a rule, scrupulously refrained from encroaching. He leaves untouched the problems of the States and the questions relating to the defence of India. He is content to merely stipluate that the States do not interfere with the march of progress in British India. As for the Army, until he is sufficiently grown up to pass out of the military academies of modern warfare, he is content to leave the question of defence to be handled by Colonels of the British Army. As Sir Sivaswamy Iyer at the *All-India Liberal Federation* (1926) remarked :

> *We have purposely decided to postpone the consideration of this problem and are content to leave the management and control of the relations between the Indian States and British India in the hands of the Governor-General under his responsibility to the British Parliament. There are some politicians who are impatient in their eagerness to bring Indian States into the line with British India and who are prepared to*

suggest more active steps towards this end. While I fully appreciate and sympathize in their objects, I am convinced that the right policy for you at the present moment is one of mutual non-interference. The problem of attaining a substantial measure of responsible government in the internal administration of British India is in itself sufficiently beset with difficulties.

8

But while the Indian politicians, as a whole, have kept out of State politics, the same cannot be said of the members of the Chamber of Princes as to affairs outside their domains. Funds from a certain State are known to have kept for some time the wolf from the door of a well-known pan-Islamic organ, one of the arch *agents provocateurs* of the communal movement. The Nizam is understood to have been keenly interested in the communal problems that rent the country for several years, the Nawab of Bahawalpur stated in a public interview (25th May, 1930) " that every true Indian must view with poignant grief the welter of anarchy and lawlessness into which the ignorant masses are being dragged." The Maharaja of Benares, in a speech of considerable notoriety (4th January, 1927) referred to the constitutional experiment of 1919 as " anticipating a state of things by a half century at least " which could " only result in an undesirable end." This speech led late Lord Sinha to observe :

I am rather surprised that any Indian Chief should express any opinion on the politics of British India. That used not to be so.

If it is used not be so, but it is so now. Many princes believe that British good-will can be purchased only by alliance with reactionary opinion and by obstructing the progress of British India's march to freedom.

Instances of comment upon affairs in British India could be multiplied. In *Scraps of Paper*, an official or semi-official princely publication, the following is the picture of the administration in India and the capacity of Indians for *Swaraj* (pp. 19-21) :

It is from among the ' literates ' of the middle class that the comparatively small political class are recruited who form the Swarajist, or Home Rule parties. The political bond be-

tween them is slender, for Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims cannot work together in the prescribed government in British India without artificial protection for minorities. The Hindus in South Bihar in 1917 rose en masse *and with fire and sword fell upon their Muslim neighbours, ravaging districts two thousand square miles in entent. The Moplahs, fierce Mohamedans in Malabar, made a savage onslaught in 1919 on the Hindus, ruthlessly plundering or killing them. During the last decade there have not been such concentrated attacks, but Hindu-Muslim, or communal riots, are recurrent, and in any year there may be a score of serious outbreaks. The political class include of course members of both communities; and also Sikhs, who cherish the memory of their former kingdom, and refute the dominance of orthodox Hindus. Another source of weakness is that Swarajist partisans, being chiefly gathered in towns and cities, are strewn out over a dozen provinces, like strings of beads dangling, as it were, over an enormous population of peasants who do not share their thoughts, and are suspicious of townsfolk. Mr. Gandhi makes a wider appeal to the peasants because his influence is spiritual, he is Mahatma, a great soul. And his gospel of passive resistance appeals to Hindus, who honour renunciation, which holy Sadhus and Fakirs exemplify. But other Swarajists can only make a limited appeal, as has been shown at the elections. The vote which empowered Indians to deal with "transferred" subjects of government was given to 7,50,000 out of the population of 250,000,000 yet, although the politicians canvassed vigorously, only half of those enfranchised voted. Of the villagers who did go to the poll, many who acted on the advice given them to vote for the bullock cart, the arrow, or what not —signs stamped on the papers—forgot afterwards which candidates the signs stood for, as was discovered by members of the Simon Commission on their travels."*

We do not resent opinion conveyed to Mr. Nicolson to retail pertaining to affairs in India. If the careful analyisis of the Simon Commission can be supplemented by the wisdom of the Chamber of Princes, it is all to the good. Let the conference round the Table be benefited by opinions of all and sundry. There are hundreds of books on the capacity of the British Government, the incapacity of Indians; there are hundreds also on the incapacity of the British Government and the capacity of Indians, but there is little literature on the administration of the Indian States. No Commission, Royal or otherwise, has investigated what percentage of the

revenues of certain States are spent on building new palaces, what is the average of pimps in their ministerial establishments, from what class are courtiers recruited, what amount is spent on motor-cars, what use is made of the court dancing girls, how much the stables, kennels and shoots absorb from the annual budget, what is the total amount paid to procuring agencies in any year, and what is the paltry amount spent on sanitation, education and the development of Industries.

9

Is it very difficult to fool the world? Given a facile expression, adequate monetary resources, a sympathetic audience, and a plausible grievance, there is no reason why the world cannot be made to believe anything. The Chamber of Princes is in a position to command the best publicity, a distracted imperialism perhaps needs its support. There are the treaties littered like scraps of paper in the Foregin Office archives. The sources of the wherewithal are almost inexhaustible. The occasion could not be more suitable and circumstances more opportune. The Princes have not been slow to seize the forelocks of time.

The world is asked to believe that the States constitute an important long suffering part of the Indian body-politic, that the Government of India rides roughshod over the promises of the Crown, that the subjects of the States are contented, prosperous and happy, that the Princes themselves are a much and unjustly maligned order, that democracy is the breath of their nostrils, that they live frugally, rule in the interest of their subjects and steadily march their administration on the road to progress. Vast effort and money is expended to maintain the continuity of the broadcast.

All would probably go well but for certain mechanical breakdowns. If only the Viceroy would put cotton-wool in his ears, if only murders would come off as planned, if only money could ensure silence, if only documents would not wander in the post, if only the dust would keep out of the clock work, what an astounding future there would be for several millions of the human race? But £150,000 could not heep Mr. "A's" identity sacrosanct, a woman's scream shook the Bharatpur *gaddi*, Indore abdicated because Mumtaz lived to tell a tale. Now and again there is the thunder-bolt, the flash and rush of wind lifting the curtains and revealing the secrets. Now and again the world is awakened to the

truth that all is not well.

10

The Princes join and pool their efforts, that the world should know as little as possible. The Chamber of Princes is the main organisation of the co-operative effort to suppress the truth. The Chamber of Princes is the outcome of a representation, to the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, for a committee to associate with the Political Secretary to ensure that the general policy of the Department is more in harmony with the sentiments and the desires of the Princes. The Montagu Chelmsford Report accepted the main proposal of the Princes :

> *We wish to call into existence a permanent consultative body. There are questions which affect the States generally, and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole, or to British India and the States in common, upon which we conceive that the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value. The Viceroy would refer such questions to the Council, and we should have the advantage of their considered opinion. We think it all important that the meetings should be regular, and that ordinarily the Council should meet once a year to discuss agenda approved by the Viceroy." "Our second proposal . . . . is that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small Standing Committee to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer matters of customs and usages in particular.*

The Chamber was formally opened in the spring of 1921. The functions of the Chamber and its powers were defined by Royal Charter :

> *My Viceroy will take its counsel freely in matters relating to the territories of Indian States generally, and in matters which affect those territories jointly with British India or with the rest of my Empire. It will have no concern with the affairs of individual States to my Government, while the existing system of the States and their freedom of action will be in no way prejudiced or impaired.*

In passing it may be noted that the Chamber consists of 120 members, of whom 108 are members in their own right and twelve represent 127 States. The remaining 327 States are not represent-

ed. Several important States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda have never joined in the deliberations of the Chamber, though of the last session it was said, there was the " noteworthy feature " of the " adherence of the greater States."

The proceedings of the Chamber until 1929 were secret, but in 1926 the galleries were thrown open to the press and the public.

But if the galleries were thrown open, the work was curtailed to such as could be transacted at plenary sessions in public. The real conspiracies are hatched in the meetings of the Standing Committee.

The establishment of the Princes' Chamber afforded an excellent opportunity to the more vocal members to break loose from the restraint exercised by wise Political Agents, for here was a debating society—if only a glorified one. What if the powers were merely advisory? It afforded an opportunity to make speeches, and to secure direct access to the Government of India. " Its proceedings found echoes in the press." Above all it afforded all its members the opportunity to display their diamonds and ride their polo ponies in the Metropolis of India. As Col. Powell records, " for a stay of only a fortnight he had also brought with him from . . . . three hundred miles away, two score cabinet ministers, court officials, A.D.Cs. and Secretaries upward of a hundred servants, a detachment of household infantry for sentry duty upon the camp, thirty odd motor-cars and some sixty polo ponies."

When the Chamber of Princes is in session, the display of royal cars which await their owners rival that at the New York Automobile Show. All the most expensive makes are represented —Rolls-Royces of course, Renaults, Merceds, Fiats, Isotta. There are cars which are gold-plated and cars which are silver-plated, cars which have hoods of polished aluminium and bodies of costly woods, cars in purple, lavender, sky-blue, orange, emerald-green, vermillion, cars upholstered in satins, velvets, brocades. One has mounted on its roof a searchlight as large as those used on destroyers; another is fitted with steel shutters, presumably to save its owner from assassination, a third has on its running-board a small pipe organ on which an attendant played his master's favourite airs.

It would be interesting to compute what a five days' session of the Chamber means in rupees, annas and pies individually and collectively.

Think of the Prince of Wales, England's future King and India's future Emperor and his three cars and an aeroplane "to save time"; think of him visiting the Mining districts, entering the hearts of the lowest of the low; think of him and his ways, simple unostentatious, proud not of position or of birth, but proud to be like the most ordinary of the King's subjects. Think now of the members of the Chamber of Princes and their order with their fleets of cars; think of the pomp in the States, think of the greater show outside; think of the emphasis laid on the importance of a princely order, its ancestry, think of the hatred of democracy. Contrast the two pictures, the picture of the heir to the world's greatest throne—the good son, the earnest worker, the man of simple wants, and the picture of 'barbaric pearl and gold'; think of the many glittering Cæsars in their princely pomp, indifferent to the chill penury of the millions, over whom they are called upon to rule.

11

The Butler Enquiry Committee is the most important result of the efforts of the Chamber of Princes to secure publicity and independence. We shall, in a later chapter, consider in detail the Report and duties of the Paramount Power, its obligations and its rights. Here it need only be mentioned that the cost of the Enquiry to the Princes was fabulous. Several counsels appeared on behalf of and advised the Princes. Sir Leslie Scott is alone reported to have received the greatest fee in all legal history, while juniors and advisers received handsome tribute to their labours. Added to these expenses must be added what the Princes, who were present in England for several months, spent individually. The total cost of the Enquiry to the Princes—paid from State Exchequers—is estimated by one who accompanied the Princes' delegation, as handsomely exceeding a million pounds sterling. The Butler Report, however, did not come up to expectations. It was conceived "in a spirit of leaving things alone." No wonder the Princes were annoyed, and characterised the Report as "superficial and self-contradictory." (*Asiatic Review*, April 1930).

That the Princes did everything in their power to make the

most of the opportunity afforded by Butler Committee, there is no doubt. The correspondence between the Deputation in England and the Indian end of the organisation throws considerable light on the anxiety of the Princes to leave no stone unturned in the pressing of their claims. They were not at the time aware that their pretentions to sovereignty would receive such unceremonious rejection.

On the 15th of July, 1928, the Maharaja of Alwar, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, addressed the following appeal to his colleagues of the Chamber :

> *May I appeal to your Highness to employ your great personal influence in securing assistance of our brother Princes for paying remainder legal fee. We have to raise three and a half lakhs before the end of June and two and a half lakhs in August. I am doing all I can and I have wired their Highnesses of Bikaner and Bhopal and also Col. Haksar.*
>
> *It is difficult to use one's personal powers from a distance but the matter being one of importance to the whole of our Order and Butler Committee having been appointed by the Viceroy practically in accordance with the suggestions of the Standing Committee at the Conference at which the Viceroy invited us to be present and Sir Leslie Scott having been invited to come out to India at our own invitation, even though some Princes may not have approved of the idea from one point of view or another, in the interest of the Order, I can probably trust that your Highness will be good enough to exercise your munificence in this direction, and that you will inform me what subscription you are prepared to give and if you have already given some what you are prepared to supplement it by..*

On the 18th of September 1928, the Acting Chancellor again addressed his brother Princes, referring to his letter of the 15th of July and requesting that the despatch of the contribution be expedited.

Professor Rushbrook Williams tried hard but ineffectively to contradict the news of the plight of the delegation in England for want of adequate funds, but facsimiles of the letters and telegrams were forthcoming, which put a conclusive ends to the con-

troversy.

12

The effort in England was no less keen than in India. In India the Chamber organisation raised the money. In England it was spent—well. A wide publicity in the press was arranged and *The Indian States and the British Protection* (P. S. King and Son) which is the Princes' statement of their claims duly published. *Scraps of Paper* is the latest effort on behalf of the Princes. There is generally "shrewd suspicion that Mr. Nicholson belongs to that costly and princely paid organisation, of which Col. Haksar and Mr. Rushbrook Williams are the prominent limbs, and which carries on a propaganda as broad as the seas and as vigorous as the winds."—(*Princely India*, 2nd May, 1930).

That the Princes lay great importance by the Special Organisation is borne out by the Chancellor of the Chamber. Writing in the *Asiatic Review* (April 1930), the Maharaja of Patiala says:

> *Finally, and perhaps not less impartant than either of the other two institutions, is the Princes' Special Organisation, of which the Indian end is controlled by Colonel Haksar with the assistance of certain other Ministers whose services the States concerned have generously placed at the disposal of the Chamber, while the English end is under the direction of Professor Rushbrook Williams. It will thus be seen that to aid and assist them during the difficult times through which India is now passing, the Standing Committee of the Chamber can call upon three organisations, each working along its own line, but all carefully co-ordinated towards one common purpose, which is the vindication of the right of the Indian States to exercise that influence in the counsels of India and of the Empire to which their historic position and their political importance fully entitle them.*

13

The Princes' Protection Act designed to afford Princes immunity from press attacks in British India was passed, it will be remembered, in the teeth of an almost universal opposition in India, and only by a resort to the powers of Certification of the Governor-General. But the Act has remained virtually a dead letter. It may sometimes be desirable to prosecute a certain

editor for publishing unsavoury details about a State administration, but a trial in the law courts is not generally a palatable procedure, especially if the editor has in his possession documents of interest. So the general policy followed by the States has been to subsidise journals in India. Certain sections of the press have not been slow to level blackmail. Lakhs of rupees are paid every year to maintain the reputation of moral delinquents and medieval autocrats. Alongside the negative aspect—keeping out of the truth—however goes the positive. There is a Special Organisation referred to in the previous section of this chapter. There is also a growing publicity organisation in India: Read this confidential circular from the Chancellor to the members of the Chamber (22nd April, 1929).

> "*It is obvious that the power of the press in these days is tremendous, and that the cause of the Indian States has suffered lately through the absence of adequate facilities for the States to represent their view-point through responsible organs of press.*
>
> "*The above considerations are doubtlessly realised by all Indian States and have been discussed by Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee. They suggest the necessity of some responsible and influential organ of the press interesting itself in the progressive cause of the Indian States and exercising its columns for news and articles dealing with States problems. Accordingly, Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee welcomed the spontaneous declaration of policy of one of the leading English dailies, the* 'Daily Chronicle' *of Delhi. This paper has proclaimed its claim, among other things, to espouse the progressive States' view-point to give publicity to the beneficent activities of the States and friendly advice wherever it is needed to contradict false and mischievous reports and generally to give a united expression to those elements in the country which have substantial stake, and stand for evolution as compared to revolution.*
>
> "*Accordingly, Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee who were present at Delhi at the last formal meeting have subscribed to the* 'Daily Chronicle' *and offered every possible support and assistance. For the same object, I am addressing this circular to Your Highness requesting that you may kindly lend your support and patronage to the said paper, by subscribing to a substantial number of copies, by*

including it in the list of those newspapers which receive State advertisements and notices, and by giving such other assistance as may be possible. I would be obliged if Your Highness would communicate direct to the Director, States' Publicity, 'Daily Chronicle,' *Delhi, regarding the action taken on this circular."*

Further details of the efforts to set up a new Publicity Organisation are contained in the following circulars, also confidential, addressed by the Chancellor to the members, (24th February, 1929):

" As Your Highness is doubtless aware, certain unfriendly forces are at work to create and exploit misunderstandings against our Order and our Administrations. Our position prevents us from entering into press controversies, and from taking notice of the vapourings of the gutter press individually. But complete silence on our part, when definitely false allegations are made, has been, and is likely to be misrepresented. The experience of the Special Organisation work in India, and in England further emphasises the necessity of our cautiously and tactfully combating the sinister propaganda against us. I have accordingly deputed a special officer to collect regularly all press cuttings relating to the administration of the various States, and to mark them to the States concerned for necessary action. Whenever it is desired that any news be contradicted or any special matter of news interest, concerning the beneficent activities in any State be published, my Secretariat will arrange to do the needful through the press. All such contradictions and informations, whenever considered desirable, may kindly be conveyed through press telegrams or letter to the Chancellor's Secretary, and later, when the Special Organisation office is completely set up at Delhi, of which Your Highness will be informed in due course.

" A list of the newspapers from which cuttings will be collected is enclosed. I shall be grateful if Your Highness would suggest any other papers, not included in the list, which may be of special interest to Your Highness' State. I shall further be grateful if Your Highness could, in response to the resolutions passed at the last informal meetings, depute some special officer to deal with this matter in your State, in addition to his ordinary duties, and to inform me of his name and address so that reference may be expedited."

And again on the 18th April, 1939 :

> *"Sir Albion Bannerji, late Foreign Minister, Kashmir, sent to me a copy of his circular explaining his scheme of doing propaganda in England through a weekly or fortnightly journal in which he desires to include the problems of the Indian States as well. He also addressed a covering letter asking for my 'help and co-operation' for his scheme. His letter and the outlines of his scheme were considered at the informal meeting of Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee in March last, and after consideration, it was decided that the Princes should not lend their support to Sir Albion's proposed scheme.*
>
> *"It was possible that Sir Albion may have already addressed individually to Princes or may do so before long to enlist their support for his scheme. I am, therefore, communicating to Your Highness' elected representative on the Standing Committee. The Princes approved at their informal meetings in Delhi in February last the proposal to continue publicity work in England on behalf of the States through their own Organisation which had already been set up in May 1928.* In accordance with that decision work is in full swing. An excellent brochure by Sir Sidney Low has already come out which will doubtless reach you shortly. Any encouragement and support that Your Highness can give should, in the opinion of the Standing Committee, be given to Professor Rushbrook Williams, who is in England on our behalf. He is responsible to us and is under our control. Support to an independent person, it is felt, would not be free from a degree of risk as he makes use of the material that Your Highness may supply in any manner that he pleases. Moreover, a parallel organisation for publicity may become a serious rival to the official organisation. This would be undesirable from many points of view."

The words in Roman in this letter of the 18th April are worthy of note. Comments on these circulars are unnecessary. They are eloquent and speak for themselves.

It may be asked, what is the necessity of these elaborate efforts and this costly Organisation ? Is it merely to secure the re-

cognition of forgotten treaties ? Is it merely to secure just rights ? Or is there something to hide ? Are there some skeletons in the cupboard ? Or is the Special Organisation anything more than a vast co-operative effort at fooling the world ?

CHAPTER III

Kingship in Theory and Practice

To the Maharaja of Bikaner's speeches rather than to his administration reports must we look for the ideals of kingship. Addressing his Assembly (January, 1928) His Highness laid down the fundamentals of a Ruler's obligations to his State and his people in the following terms :

> " *Whether we view them from the standpoint of East or the West—there are some well recognized and all round accepted principles and functions of good Government, and of regal obligations and duties of Rulers to their subjects, over which there can be little, if any, dispute—whatever the standard and conditions prevailing in any State, and wherever it is geographically situated. They form the hallmark of every State worthy of being ranked as enlightened and progressive ; and these, to my mind, are the essential preliminaries—the minima—which can inspire the general confidence of the public both within and without his territories, and which any Ruler (or State) should aspire to that wishes to put his house in order and to withstand the fierce light which beats upon a Throne. These are general principles—the essentials of good government :*
>
> *I.* " *For the Ruler of a State to have affixed and well-defined Privy Purse and a clear dividing line between his personal expenditure and that of the State.*
>
> *II.* " *Security of life and property by the employment of as efficient and uncorrupt a police as possible for the maintenance of law and order.*
>
> *III.* " *Independent Judiciary.*

IV. *"The Reign of Law, including certainty of Law, its uniformity and approximation where possible with the laws of British India with such additions and alterations as local conditions may render necessary.*

V. *"Stability of Public Services.*

VI. *"Efficiency and continuity of administration.*

VII. *"Beneficent rule in the interests of the general well-being and contentment of the subjects."*

"These seven points are well worthy of being the watchwords of internal reforms in the States, and of being adopted in the almanac of every Ruler or Government of an Indian State—each point to be emphasized and specially remembered for each day in the week.

"They do not differ from the Hindu ideal of kingship so aptly placed before us by our own Shastras. I do not forget that at some places a King is described therein as embodying within him the spark of Divinity, but that spark is also hedged round with and cased within a sheath of stern behests and sacred commandments, which a Ruler is under an obligation to comply with by his Coronation Oath :

"I shall see to the growth of the country, considering it always as 'God.' Whatever Law there is here, and whatever is dictated by Ethics, and whatever is not opposed to polity, I will act according to. I shall never act arbitrarily.' This is the ideal of the reign of law which places Law above one's desire, caprice and fancy."

2

Government, said Woodrow Wilson, is merely the executive organ of society, the organ through which its habit acts, through which its will become operative, through which it adapts itself to its environment and works out for itself a more effective life. There is clear reason, therefore, why the disciplinary action of society upon the individual is exceptional ; clear reason also why the power of the despot must recognize certain ultimate limits and bounds ; and clear reason why sudden or violent changes of government lead to equally violent and often fatal reactions and re-

volutions. It is only the exceptional individual who is not held fast to the common habit of social duty and comity. The despot's power, like the potter's ,is limited by the characteristics of the materials in which he works, of the society which he manipulates ; and change which roughly breaks with the common thought will lack the sympathy of that he crushed by that opposition. Society can be changed only by evolution, and revolution is the antidote of evolution. The public order is preserved because order inheres in the character of society.

What, then, on analysis, is the nature of government ? If it rests upon authority and force, but upon authority which depends upon the acquiescence of the general will and upon force suppressed, latent, withheld except under extraordinary circumstances, what principle lies behind these phenomena, at the heart of government ? The answer is hidden in the nature of Society itself. Society is in no sense artificial ; it is as truly natural as the individual man himself. As Aristotle said, man is by nature a social animal ; his social function is as normal with him as is his individual function. Society, therefore, is compounded of the common habit and is an evolution of experience, an interlaced growth of tenacious relationships, a compact, living whole, structural, not mechanical.

Government is the organ of Society, its only protent and universal instrument ; its objects must be the objects of society. What, then, are the objects of society ? What is society ? It is an association of individuals organised for mutual aid. Mutual aid to what ? To self-development. The hope of society lies in an infinite individual variety, in the freest possible play of individual forces : only in that can it find that wealth of resource which constitutes civilization, with all its appliances for satisfying human wants and mitigating human sufferings, all its incitements to thought and spurs to action. It should be the end of government to assist in accomplishing the objects of organised society. There must be constant adjustments of governmental assistance to the needs of a changing social and industrial organization. Not license of interference on the part of government, but only strength and adaptation of regulation. The regulation that we mean is not interference ; it is equalization of conditions, so far as possible, in all branches of endeavour ; and the equalization of conditions is the very opposite of interference.

Every rule of development is a rule of adaptation, a rule for

meeting 'the circumstances of the case'; but the circumstances of the case, it must be remembered, are not, so far as government is concerned, the circumstances of any individual case, but the circumstances of society's case, the general conditions of social organization. The case for society stands thus: the individual must be assured the best means, the best and fullest opportunities, for complete self-development: in no other way can society itself gain vitality and strength. But one of the most indispensable conditions of opportunity for self-development government alone the society's controlling organ can supply.

3

The Rulers of Indian States have through the centuries, and as a matter of fact until comparatively recent times, depended like other monarchies for their existence and their privileges on the goodwill of their subjects. Whatever type of government, it flourished upon the sanction of its people. No Ruler had his status, his emoluments, his rights and those of his progeny guaranteed for ever by a third party. He ruled while he pleased his people. When his people ceased to be pleased, when they in other words became dissatisfied with the Prince's administration, they dethroned him, banished him, or sent him to keep his forefathers company.

Even with the advance of democracy, there has been no serious modification in the outlook on the duties of Rulers toward their subjects. History is, it is true, packed with the names of dictators. To-day's governments, even of the most civilized nations, are in the hands of dictators—financial, social, ecclesiastical and political. Some of these dictatorships are undoubtedly tyrannical in their operations, but no dictator nor autocrat, not even a Mussolini, can place himself before the nation whose destiny he controls. Democracy is the new way to an old necessity. Dictatorships may be changed without bloodshed. Before democracy, revolution was achieved through blood, the new method prescribes the ballot box. Escaping steam never blew a boiler. Unless the Princes are prepared to accede to the modification of their status and their powers dictated by modern sentiments and necessities, they run a grave risk, the risk of a patched structure under increasing stresses.

The test of a governing machine is whether it functions wisely and efficiently. While a system of government, monarchy, aristocracy, or even a democracy does that, the ship of State sails on untroubled by tempest or by sea.

The war destroyed men but it gave birth to ideas. It destroyed in Europe the last remnants of despotic kingship, it scattered the proudest monarchies of Europe like leaves in an autumn gale. There are a few kingships left, but the holders of the office have the sense to recognize that though they reign, they do not govern, and that their existence is possible only within the circumscribed limits and functions of a democratic constitution.

But while the War swept the world of its crowns and coronets, sheltered in the British protection, the Indian States emerged, if anything, a little more secure and certainly more important than they had ever been before. Before the war it was unthinkable for a representative of the Princes to be employed to sign a treaty of international importance, it was unthinkable for them to sit in mutul conference to conspire against the future of India and to divide in private the territories of a supposedly disintegrating empire. Secure against foreign invasion, secure against internal turmoil, backed with the power and prestige of the world's mightest Empire, helped by the distractions of the times, and a steadily diminishing scrutiny over purse and government, they make most of the hey days of irresponsibility. According to Bernard Houghton:

> *After the war, the British Government found itself faced with a dilemma. If it ensured good government for those people, it must alienate their rulers : if it conciliated the rulers, the people must suffer misery twice refined. Simla chose the worser path. In this altered atmosphere it was clearly inexpedient to, in any way, alienate the loyalty of the Rajahs. The less interference with their internal affairs, the better. Given a free hand to tax and to squander, to give or to deny justice, to govern well or ill, what wonder that they are fast developing into irresponsible despots ? Secure from the only danger which checks despotism, the fear of rebellion, they have done each man as seems good in his eyes.*

This is the natural corollary of the policy, the dangers of which were indicated by the great London *Times* as long ago as 1853:

> *We have emancipated these pale and ineffectual pageants of royalty from the ordinary fate that waits on an oriental despotism. . . . This advantage (securing able and vigorous Princes through rebellion) we have taken away from the inhabitants of the States of India still governed by Native*

Princes. It has been well said that we give these Princes power without responsibility. Our hand of iron maintains them on the throne, despite their imbecility, their vices, and their crimes. The result is in most of the States a chronic anarchy under which the revenues of the States are dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the Court. The heavy and the arbitrary taxes levied on the miserable ryots serve only to feed the meanest and the most degraded of mankind. The theory seems, in fact, admitted that the government is not for the people but the people for the King, and that so long as we secure the King his sinecure royalty we discharge all the duty that we as sovereigns of India owe to his subjects who are virtually ours.

Sir Thomas Munro in a despatch to the Governor-General declared much the same thing:

The subsidiary force has a natural tendency to render the goverement of every country, in which it exists, weak and oppressive to extinguish all honourable spirit among the higher classes of society and to degrade and impoverish the whole people. The usual remedy of a bad government in India is a quiet revolution in the palace or a violent one by rebellion or foreign conquest. But the presence of the British forces cut off every chance of a remedy by supporting the Princes on the throne against every foreign or domestic enemy. It renders him indolent by teaching him to trust to strangers for his security and cruel and avaricious by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects.

Is not the present state of affairs in the Indian States an echo, in some cases faint but in some cases loud and audible distinctly, of this expression?

4

The evils of despotism, tyranny and bad government fall on the people. They are the only sufferers. The interests of the Paramount Power are amply secured, the interests of the Princes are amply secured, both thanks to British bayonets, but what about the unfortunate millions condemned to live under these medieval despotisms? The importance of the States is reckoned in the number of square miles, in the millions that inhabit those square miles, in the revenues derived from the exploitation of the soil and

the labour of the millions who pay their small mites to the maintenance of a system with which they have no sympathy and under which they are little better than serfs. There is no court of appeal, no court of redress, in fact there is very little law and practically no conscience. "A state of things is allowed to go on in this 20th century to the full knowledge of the Government of India, a state of things which no civilized Government should countenance or tolerate." *(Presidential Address, Indian States Peoples' Conference, 1927)*. In the words of the representation of the Indian States People to the Butler Committee :

> *No sane man would desire alien interference if it could be possibly avoided. But in the present helpless condition of the Indian States brought about by double despotism arising out of double allegiance, there is no recourse left for the dumb and oppressed seventy millions of Indian States but to appeal to the Paramount Power with whom rests the ultimate responsibility to secure the welfare of the Indian States' people and who have deprived them of their common law right of rising in revolt against the Ruler who rebels against law.*

We have the authority of the Maharaja of Bikaner that a Pirnce owes it to his people to govern according to certain well-established canons ; we have it that the Hindu ideals of kingship are not very different from the ideals of the functions of government elsewhere as the " reign of law which places law above one's desire, caprice and fancy." As to how far these obligations are translated into words, some particulars will be forthcoming hereafter.

So much for the responsibility and the duty of the Princes towards their subjects, but what about the British Government ? Have they no responsibility towards the millions who own the supremacy of the King-Emperor, but are entrusted to the mercy of what Col. Powell describes as the " last vestiges of despotism." The people of the States do not hold the Political Department entirely blameless for their plight :

> *The Indian States are in a most backward condition. With few exceptions there are no representative institutions, no association of the people with the government in any shape or at any stage and no rule of law. If only the Political Department had exerted itself as zealously as it has done in furthering Imperial interests, the moribund condition of the people of the Indian States would never have lasted till now. The Indian*

Princes with few exceptions have been most obedient and loyal to the behests of the Political officers. They have acquiesced in all policies forced upon them, though they were seriously detrimental to their interests simply with a view not to displease the Paramount Power. If, therefore, the Political officers had taken the right initiative and induced the Princes to adopt all the forms of government introduced in British India as regards administrative efficiency, good government and the stages of self-government. The backward condition of the Indian States is, therefore, primarily due to laissez faire *policy of the Political Department in regard to the internal administration of the States, so far as administrative efficiency, good government and self-government are concerned.*

The responsibility of the British Government has long been recognized as a corollary to the protection afforded against internal and external danger. As a Gaekwar of Baroda was informed in the famous case of 1873-75 by the then Viceroy and Governor-General :

My friend, I cannot consent to employ British troops to protect any one in a course of wrong-doing. Misrule on the part of a government which is upheld by the British Power is misrule in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes therefore not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of a state in such a condition is reformed, that gross abuses are removed.

If these obligations are not fulfilled, if gross, misgovernment be permitted, if substantial justice be not done to the subjects of the Baroda State, if life and property be not protected, or if the general welfare of the country and people be persistently neglected, the British Government will assuredly intervene in the manner which in its judgment may be best calculated to remove these evils and to secure good government.

Lord Curzon, in memorable words, emphasized the same attitude in regard to the responsibility of the Paramount Power for the internal administration of the States :

The Native Prince cannot remain, visa-a-vis *of the Empire, a loyal subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and* visa-a-vis *of his own people, a frivolous and irresponsible*

despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him. He must be the Servant as well as the Master of his people ; he must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects ; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest, and that his gadi *is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not be merely known on the polo ground or on the racecourse or in the European hotel : His real work, his princely duty lies among his own people. By this standard shall I at any rate judge him. By this test will be in the long run as a political institution perish or survive.*

Among other general propositions, Lord Reading, in his famous letter to the Nizam (27th March, 1926) recognised the responsibilities of the Paramount Power. Said Lord Reading :

The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Government. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason. But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the position of the States was described thus :

The States are guaranteed security from without : the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other States, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the States' relations to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power ; they share the obligation for common defence ; and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.

5

But in spite of these obligations of the colleagues of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, to rule with " the spark of Divinity hedged round and cased within a sheath of stern behests and sacred Commandments " and the Paramount Power's " general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their (State) territories," we still have according to the testimony of the Butler Committee, " States patriarchal, or quasi-feudal which still linger in a medieval atmosphere and States which are purely under autocratic administration ". (Para 10).

The Butler Committee may say there are " some " States whose administrations are behind the times ; the Special Organisation of the Princes may admit to a " few " ; those who have no axe to grind maintain there are " many." Thus Zimand, who maintains they are in a majority [*Living India*, p. 148]. Whether a few, some or many, the number is comparatively irrelevant. To the conclusion that the obligations of kingship and the obligations of Paramountcy have not been fulfilled, there can be no answer. In what measure there have been the shortfalls of duty may be matters of controversy. The facts set out in this book will enable the unbiased reader to form his own estimate.

Important in this connection is the demand of the Indian States people expressed to the Butler Committee :

> *As these Indian Princes are the trustees of the people, it is necessary to hold an inquiry how far they have discharged their duties satisfactorily during their management of over 75 years. The Indian Princes are claiming independence in their domestic affairs. Before they desire this concession it is obligatory on them to prove that they deserve this privilege by reason of the proper administration of their States. Such an inquiry is indispensable before any modifications are made in the existing relations of these States. It is obligatory on the Paramount Power to satisfy themselves by the evidence of those who are immediately concerned with this rule as to how far the Indian Princes are entitled to claim larger measure of freedom in their internal affairs, and a proportionate relaxation of control of the Paramount Power. The interest of the people of the Indian Rulers without a thorough investigation of Indian States would be seriously prejudiced if any privileges are conferred upon the Indian Rulers without a thorough investiga-*

> *tion of the manner in which they have managed their own States. 'From the point of view of the duty of good government, Native Rulers may be regarded as the agents or great hereditary officers of the British Empire at large for the administration of part of its varied possessions'* (Tupper, p. 256). *It is necessary to call upon these agents to render account of their management.*

6

Having thus surveyed the general aspects of the theory of kingship, the functions of government and the obligations of the Rulers and the Paramount Power, let us now in some greater detail survey the administrations in practice as they are to be found in many States to-day. Here too it must be emphasized that it is inequitable to condemn the millions of Indian States subject to the rule of the Princes at present, by assuming that the conditions as prevailing in Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore and a few other States are general. It is an old-time saying that one swallow does not make a summer, it is equally erroneous to suppose that a few States like Mysore are representative of State rule.

Great efforts have in recent years been made by the States individually and in concert, through various channels of publicity, to gain the ear of the British public. We have already referred to Mr. Nicholson's *Scraps of Paper*, which purports to appeal to the British sense of justice. One of the immediate causes of the Great War was the contemptuous reference to the treaty with Belgium as a 'scrap of paper'. According to Mr. Nicholson, there are many treaties solemnly entered into in the name of the British nation which the Political Department treat in the manner of Bethmann-Hollwog—(*Scraps of Paper*, pp. 64-65).

> *It is not easy now to commend the disregard of Treaties to Englishmen. Few things stirred public feeling in England more at the outset of the Great War than the brief words exchanged between Herr von Bethmann-Hollwog and Sir Edward Goschen: 'Do you mean to say that you are going to make war for a scrap of paper?' 'Unfortunately, Sir, that Scrap of Paper contains our signature as well as yours.' The aiew in Britain was that we faught not only in support of our Allies, and for our national safety, but for the sanctity of Treaties. In India, perhaps, a shadow from the past chills the warmth of this sentiment for Treaties. The old controversies that arose*

before our Empire was founded have been laid, and the names of Clive and Warren Hastings are honoured by us to-day as if they were Elizabethans. They were great men, moving in a world of unbounded adventure, and we have cleansed their records of many calumnies. But after they had passed, a chapter in our annals was written by lesser men, who by trampling on Treaty rights in Sind fostered the spirit of dominance in our Political Officers.

Mr. Nicholson is too honest to base his claim for the Princes in main on other grounds. He does not stress the argument that the Princes as a whole, or even as a simple majority, govern well. True, he cites Sir Walter Lawrence but does not press the point that the people in the States are as a whole happy, he does not say that the administration reports of the States have been placed before him or that he has scanned their contents ; he says he has seen the Treaties, he has fingured the red seals where the Lion and the Unicorn in amity uphold the Crown of England, he has read the promises of the Queen and studied the *Sanads* granted by the Paramount Power. His object is to depict—a task which he discharges with great plausibility—the Indian States as five hundred odd little Belgiums overrun by the rapacity and the militarism of the Government of India and threatened with extinction by the armies of Gandhi.

But where Mr. Nicholson stops short, there is the Maharaja of Rajpipla, to say nothing of other Princes and paid propagandists to fill in the gaps. Well is this work done, in the sanguine assurance that there will be no one to nail these lies to the counter. As an instance of brazen misrepresantation may be cited what the Chief of Rajpipla told the London *Daily Mail* not long ago (12th June, 1928) :

I do not know a Maharaja on whom work is not making a merciless drain. I do not know a Maharaja who can spend money in the way attributed to Indian Princes. They have to weigh money before they spend. Many of them actually do consider shillings.

There are Maharajas who control millions. What we control is not a personal fortune, but a reserve that will guarantee good education, good food, the health and well-being of our subjects. Enlightened Princes have no surplus of money to waste.

How very ridiculous the idea that we spend millions a year. I am sorry to have to spend thousands, and that on myself. My personal modest needs would not account for thousands.

As to what class of work makes a merciless drain on princely energies, the Maharaja of Rajpipla was careful not to specify. But it may safely be assumed that it is not generally matters of State. The answer to Rajpipla comes not from the Indian States Peoples' Conference, but from a member of the Chamber of Princes itself—one of a few Princes, who takes his duties seriously. Advising his brother Princes (21st August, 1930), the Raja of Mandi said, "The Princes need have no fear of the future, if they cared a little more for the running of their governments on constitutional lines and a little less for their own personal pleasures."

7

The veracity of the rest of the statement of the Maharaja of Rajpipla given to the London *Daily Mail* may now be tested by reference to the budgets and administration reports of several States.

Said the Maharaja of Rajpipla, "How very ridiculous the idea that we spend millions a year—what we control is not a personal fortune but a reserve that will guarantee good education, good food, the health and well-being of our subjects." Brave words to be sure.

Travancore and Mysore are generally considered to have the most efficient administrations among the Indian States. The Travancore State spends as much as 18 per cent of its revenue on education, which is among the highest percentages in the world. Baroda and Mysore follow close spending about 17 and 16 per cent respectively upon the same object. Among the efficiencies how Mysore and Travancore administrations is their comparatively low palace expenditure. Mysore's palace expenditure is 7 per cent. and Travancore's 5·2 per cent of the revenues. Translated into rupees, annas and pies, the Maharaja of Mysore's privy purse is Rs. 23,80,000 equivalent to about £180,000. Travancore's palace appropriation is Rs. 11,00,000 and equivalent to nearly £100,000 sterling. The civil list to the King of Italy is £112,500. Therefore the Maharaja of Mysore receives 50 per cent more than King Emmanuel. The King of Italy is paid from a national revenue of

about £200 million sterling. The Maharani of Travancore receives nearly the same sum as the King of Italy from a State income of only 1¾ millions sterling. The Maharaja of Mysore receives half as much again as King Emmanuel's remuneration from a State income less than one-seventieth of the revenues of Italy. These are figures in the best administered States, in others they are even more incredible.

Compare the figures in the State Administration Reports and the figures for various European monarchies available in the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1930.

His Majesty the King-Emperor receives £470,000 annually. The Emperor of Japan has a civil list of £450,000. The Nizam of Hyderabad receives from the State revenues the sum of fifty lakhs, which is on a par with the civil list of the two Emperors. If *nazranas* and escheats and a private estate—which are abrogated by the Kings of England and Japan in return for the fixed civil list —are included, the Nizam's personal income is equal to the combined incomes of both Emperors. The income of the Hyderabad State is about 6½ crores of rupee, equivalent to about five million sterling. The Treasury benches in White Hall and Tokio budget each for about eight hundred million sterling. By analogy nearer home the income of His Exalted Highness is many many times the pay of the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India. The income of the Nizam for one year capitalised at 9 per cent. would meet the salary of the Viceroy and the six Executive Councillors of the Government of India in perpetuity! In his famous letter to the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi complained :

> *The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month, besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £5,000 per year,* i.e., *over Rs. 5.400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day, against India's average income of less than 2 annas per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 per day. Thus, you are getting much over 5,000 times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting onty 90 times Britain's average income.*

If the Viceroy gets 5,000 times India's average income, what

do our friends the Ruling Princes get for their custodianship? The Nizam's income is between 100,000 and 200,000 India's average income. The others are rateably in proportion.

The percentage of "Hazuri" appropriation in the Indian States are the highest in the world. If the amounts paid to Rulers in other parts of the world are any guide, the Indian Prince appropriates a sum many hundred times what other and more exalted members of the kingly order are permitted to do. In many instances the civil list of independent and paramount sovereigns like the Kings of Italy and England have been fixed on a surrender of the incomes from private estates. No king in the world to-day is considered to be worth even one per cent. of the national revenues. If any king appropriated or wanted to appropriate to his personal use any more than he is paid to-day, there would be a revolution and he would, in all likelihood, have to go. Democracies are run considerably cheaper than monarchies, but even if we do not take the standards of the President of the United States, the head of the Soviet Government in Russia or the President of France, all of whom occupy an international status far and away above any that any Indian Prince can boast to, there must be some criterion as to what a Ruler is entitled to— some relations to the fortunes of the States over which he is called upon to rule. Kings in other parts of the world reign with the consent of their people, the pageant of their courts is with the permission tacit or otherwise of the representatives of the nation. An Indian Prince rules without the sanction of his people, he taxes them as he pleases, he passes whatever laws he fancies, he helps himself to the State's revenues, he is immune from the consequences of autocracy—his status and his loot is guaranteed.

These remarks may sound harsh, but no comment can be harsher than the facts upon which they are based. As we have said there must be some criterion, some means of fixing what a Ruler may appropriate from the revenues. We use the word "appropriate" deliberately. Except in India hereditary autocracy has been swept from the earth. Kings only enjoy the emoluments fixed by their people. The King of England receives roughly one in 1,600 of the national revenues, the King of Belgium one in 1,000, the King of Itlay one in 500, the King of Denmark one in 300, the Emperor of Japan one in 400, the Queen of Netherlands one in 600, the King of Norway one in 700 and the King of Spain one in 500. No King receives one ln seventeen as the Maharani of Travancore or one in fourteen as the Maharaja of

Mysore or one in thirteen as the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Maharaja of Baroda and certainly not one in five as the Maharajas of Kashmir and Bikaner. The world would be scandalized to know that not a few Princes appropriate one in three and one in two of the revenues of their States.

The Maharajas of Indore and Bikaner have each incomes from their States equivalent to the income of the Kings of Denmark, Norway and Bulgaria combined. The King of Spain rules over 190,000 square miles of territory and a population of 27 millions with a hundred million budget sterling. King Alfonso's civil list is surpassed by a Prince who rulers over only 3,700 square miles and has treasury receipt barely ¾ million sterling. Such instances could be multiplied. The Ruler of "X" whose affairs are now administered by a Council composed of European and Indian officers, receives over four lakhs a year or nearly twice the pay of the Viceroy. His territories are only 6,000 square miles, of which a considerable portion is desert. How this Prince spends four lakhs of rupees is a more or less public scandal. This is how a journal not unfriendly to the Princes refers to the affairs in this State (*Princely India*, 5th April 1929):

> *The Prince is trying his utmost to get rid of the new Council, but the people are strongly in favour of it, because the Council is a great check on the autocratic misrule in the State.*
>
> *Ever since Mr...............came as Financial and Revenue Member he has been doing everything in the interest of the people of the State. If he has unfortunately failed to check the extravagance of the Ruler, it is because of his delicate and difficult position in the State. The Ruler is taking a monthly allowance of Rs. 35,000 for his personal expenses which is too big an amount for a State like...........with an annual income of Rs. ten lakhs. Not being satisfied with this amount of Rs. 35,000 a month, the Ruler is raising loans to meet his growing expenditure. He is now sunk in debts to the tune of Rs. 15 lakhs. Whatever money he borrows is squandered on prostitutes. It is a scandal in and outside the State that one of his newly married wives was a well-known dancing girl and the Rvler is playing into her hands like a slave. Her brother and other relations are exercising great influence over the administration of the State.*

In another State a small principality of only 180 square miles and not sufficiently important to be noted in the *Times of India Year Book*, 1930,*more than half the revenue of Rs. 2,19,000, *i.e.* the sum of Rs. 1,36,000 goes to meet the domestic charges of the Ruler. The maintenance of the royal stables in the enlightened principality costs Rs. 14,000 annually or nearly three times the amount spent on public health. (*Princely India*, 17th February, 1923).

Administration Reports are published by some States but not by a great many, very often there is considerable delay in the publication of these reports – especially if there is some aspect of the budget that is not particularly creditable. When available —not to the public—the reports make interesting reading particularly in regard to the efforts now made to show the income of the Ruler as low as possible. The actual purse may be 10 per cent, 15 per cent, 20 per cent, it may even be more. But over and above there are items like maintenance of the palace which are charged to the Public Works, the palace gardens may be a charge on the Department of Agriculture, electrification of the capital, which consists mainly of the palace and the Ministers' houses to Municipal funds, new cars may be charged to the Army Department and new dancing girls to Contingencies! Many specific instances could be cited in this connection, but two or three will suffice :

> *For Indoreans the year 1926 was a particularly eventful one as it saw a change in the occupant of the throne. Tukoji Rao abdicated dearly that year and his son, Yeshwant Rao, was installed as Maharaja. Whatever difference that fact may have otherwise made, it has not led to a reduction in palace expenditure. This amounted to Rs. 21,28,257 in 1924-25, but rose by nearly two lakhs to Rs. 23,22,924 next year. The ordinary revenue for the year was Rs. 1,28,10,887, so that the proportion of palace expenses to the total revenne works out at 18 per cent. But the real proportion appears to be still higher when it is remembered that there were some charges which should ultimately have been debited to the palace, but have been shown under other heads. Among such must be included the cost of the Lal Bagh Palace Works, which came to nearly six lakhs, but is, strangely enough, shown under P.W.D., repairs to other residences of the Maharaja, which altogether cost a little over Rs. 6,000 are also similarly debited to the P.W.D. instead of*

being included among palace expenses. The expenditure on shikar *which came to nearly Rs. 12,000 is likewise shown under "Forests." If all these expenses are added up, it will be found that palace expenses do not constitute only 18 but more than 22 per cent. of the total revenue of the State. It does not need much argument to make out that the palace swallows a disproportionate share of the State revenue, which naturally result in the starvation of such nation-building departments as Education and Sanitation* (Servants of India, 14-6-27).

The Butler Committee was hoodwinked into saying that 56 Princes have fixed a privy purse, but the percentages of the purse are not mentioned nor does it apparently matter very much to the Butler or Simon Committees, so long as the Princes can say that they have fixed their privy purses. But if their Administration Reports are carefully read, it is quite clear that the privy purse merely signifies the pocket expenses of a Ruler, Mr. Chudgar, in his *Indian Princes under British Protection* (p. 147), cites for example the case of the Maharaja of Bikaner, who is "the loudest in swearing that he has fixed his privy purse to ten per cent. of his revenues." Says Mr. Chudgar:

> *The Maharaja of Bikaner, the loudest in swearing that he has fixed his privy purse to ten per cent. of his revenues, debits all his residential palace expenditure on repairs, etc., to Civil Works. In the Bikaner Administration Report for 1926-27 there are forty-seven items of such repairs, and only four items of real civil works of public utility costing only five per cent of the total amount shown against civil works which is about £40,000. In the Administration Report of Jamnagar for the year 1925-26 the item of Civil List is stated at Rs. 4,80,000 or roughly £40,000, and all other personal expenses enumerated under the head of palace expenses amount to £125,000, together with £165,000 which comes to 25 per cent. of the total revenue. In addition to this there is an item of £200,000, all spent on motor-cars, palaces, etc. which are separate from palace expenses, and the total comes to £ 375,000 or almost 50 per cent of the revenues. In the year 1926-27 the figures of expenses on these items are still more staggering: £ 600,000 of which £ 200,000 are mentioned as unforeseen."*

In another State, the name is immaterial, a budget was

framed for the first time a few years ago. Previously a budget could not be drawn because the Maharaja considered it derogatory to curtail his private expenditure. Eventually he was persuaded to come into line with some other of his brother Princes and to frame a budget for the ensuing year. The budget dealt with a revenue of over a crore of rupees. When drawn it was claimed to be a model budget of a model State ruled by a model Ruler. Summed up, the budget was as follows :

> *The total income of the State is about Rs. 125 lakhs. Out of this 50 lakhs are appropriated under head ' Pay.' This includes 20 lakhs for the Military Department. 15 lakhs go to meet contingencies of which 10 lakhs are reserved for Huzuri (Maharaja's) contingencies. Travelling allowances and pensions account for 5 lakhs and the balance of 55 lakhs belongs to the Maharaja's privy purse. Thus the civil administration of the State costs only Rs. 40 lakhs including contingencies, travelling allowances and pensions, of which Education gets 2 lakhs while the Palace claims Rs. 65 lakhs including the Rs. 10 lakhs of Huzuri contingencies. It would interest students of public finance to note that in this State, out af a total revenue of 125 lakhs, 65 lakhs are swallowed by the Ruler, 40 lakhs are spent on the civil administration and 20 lakhs on the military. Even more interesting it would be to note that only 2 lakhs are given to education.*

The marriages of the Princes are charged to the State revenues. Ten days' touring of a certain member of the Chamber of Princes costs the State Rs. 54,000. The marriage of this Ruler (not the first) appears in one of his Administration Reports at a lakh of rupees. Apart from the amount paid to him as " Privy Purse " there is separately shown the sum of over a lakh of rupees paid to his wives—" Their Highnesses."

Generally each Prince has a pet object on which he lavishes the money and the reserves of his State. Some can never have enough palaces, others can never have enough women, still others can never have enough cars, a few only are without the vices so common among the rich. The finest architects are imposed to design the royal residences and no money is too much to provide the luxury and the comfort that is required. Highly organised systems of eduction extending sometimes to neighbouring States, sometimes into British India and occasionally even as far as the capitals of Europe provide the variety and choice in

womankind. The makers of aristocrats in cars will tell you that their best customers are the Rajas, Maharajas and Nawabs of India.

8

Having seen how much of the State revenue the average Prince helps himself to, it is equally interesting to see how the money is raised. It must be remembered that with the exception of a very few States, the ruling chief regards himself not merely as the head of the body politic, but, on the contrary, he identifies himself, *i.e.* his own person, with the State. The Ruler's welfare is the welfare of the State, the Ruler's rights are the rights of the State, he is, in short, the State itself. India was recently scandalized when the Viceroy promulgated half a dozen ordinances to meet the exigencies of the Civil Disobedience Movement. And yet in some hundred odd States there is no rule of law, the destinies of the States depend on the whims, the idiosyncracies, the fads and passions of their rulers. Laws euphemistically described as "acts" are promulgated, taxes are levied, estates are forfeited, liberty violated and honour disgraced, the full details of which have never been chronicled and perhaps will never be fully chronicled. It would astonish the world that such things can happen and do happen in 20th century and under the nose, the eyes and the ears of Simla. The Treaty of Versailles carved up the Austrian and Turkish Empires for corruption and tyrannies and oppression that appear mild compared to the iniquities current in several States to-day. There is a fair sprinkling of post-parandial sympathy with their people, but the general attitude among the Princes is summed up in the words of a Prince, more honest than others in his order, citing Louis XIV as precedent *L'Etat C'est Moi* or "I am the State (vide *Presidential Address, Indian States Peoples' Conference,* 17th December 1921).

Several States do not publish Administration Reports which are available to the public. Those that do, are carefully coloured and varnished. Accurate and complete statistics are, therefore, not available. It is, therefore, difficult to say what the wealth per head of the population can be but "it cannot be more than that in British India, which, according to most liberal estimates, does not exceed £3/10/-" (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 236) The probability is that it is considerably lower. Even assuming £3/10/- as correct and the other figures for British India as applicable to the States, the error, if any, would nevertheless be on the right side, we may assume that the income per head is about Rs. 80.

In sterling at the current rate taxation on the basis of 8 per cent works at nine shillings per head (*Indian Statutory Commission*, Volume II, p. 207). This is the figure for British India. Mr. Chudgar has carefully analysed the taxation per head in various States. Excepting three States, Mysore, Travancore and Kashmir, where other large sources of revenue are available, taxation in the States appears on the whole to be higher than that in British India. In Baroda, taxation per head is 15 shillings, in Indore 18 shillings, in Alwar 15 shillings, in Nawanagar and Cutch £1-10, in Bhavnagar £1, and in Bhopal 17 shillings. The figures in several other States vary between 15 shillings and 18 shillings. The taxation in Indian States may therefore safely be assumed to be between fifty to hundred per cent higher than taxation in British India.

9

It is generally agreed that the amounts spent by the present Administration of British India on Education and Sanitation are considerably lower than the revenue or taxation merit. As Mr. Layton, Financial Assessor to the Indian Statutory Commission, (Vol. II, p. 208) admits, " There can be little doubt that in conditions such as those now obtaining in India it should be possible to stimulate production and to increase the welfare of the people by public expenditure designed to give greater economic security, better physical well-being and education." The pretext of the Government in India for the inadequate progress of the public welfare departments is the low percentage of taxation compared to other countries and the necessities of the Army, and the efficiency of the Services. How far this explanation is justified on facts, is beyond the purview of this book. The States whose scales of taxation are obviously higher than the scale of taxation in British India, have military and service requirements proportionately very much lower than those of British India. The military establishment of the Baroda State, which is considerably high, is 14 per cent of the revenues. The Government of India's contribution to the general defence is about 55 per cent of Central revenues. But in spite of the fact that taxation is higher, and requirements of individual military establishment much lower, the States generally spend less on the welfare departments than the British Government.

The average expenditure per head in British India on Education is 9*d*. and on Sanitation and Public Health 5*d*. The average taxation per head, as already mentioned, is 9 shillings. The Bikaner State spends 5*d*. per head on Education and 4*d*. on

Public Health and Sanitation, while taxation amounts to £1/2/- per head. The Indore State spends 7*d*. on Education and 2*d*. on Public Health, while taxation is 18 shillings per head. The Nawanagar State subjects are taxed to the tune of £1/10/- per head or three times as much as they would have to pay under British Rule, while they receive on Education 6*d*. and in Public Health 3*d*. per head. Cutch is apparently worse. While taxation is £1/10/- per head, the Public Welfare Departments get 3*d*. between them. The Maharaja of Alwar whose "glory it is to serve in and out of India," serves his people by spending the magnificent sum of 1*d*. per head on their general health and 3*d*. on their Education! A model Ruler, referred to earlier in chapter, spends two lacs a year on the education of his subjects from a revenue of over a crore of rupees. In another State, the amounts paid to the Ruler's wives were nearly three times the amounts spent on Public Health and Sanitation. The amount spent on Education in the latter State was only twice as much as the amount spent on the maintenance of the royal cars and stables. Such instances could be multiplied. In yet another State the royal stables cost twice as much as the Public Health (vide *Princely India*, 17th February 1923). The following figures for one of the Rajputana principalties (1921—24) speak for themselves :—

Year	Revenue	Education	Medical	Motor Garage
1921-22	1,20,31 738	1,76,427	1,80,785	1,41,305
1922-23	1,25,03,506	2,13,825	1,79,039	3,12,530
1923-24	1,72,77,498	2,84,492	1,96,077	3,25,398

What more need be said? It may be asked why the States do not spend more on the welfare of their subjects? The question should be addressed to the Chamber of Princes, it may be addressed to the Government of India. The Government of India will reply, they cannot interfere. The Chamber will not be concerned for such matters refer to the internal sovereignty of its august members. *L'Etat c'est Moi* or " I am the State." The State does spend half the revenues on itself—why complain?

10

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, not long ago, informed Lord Irwin in post-banquet enthusiasm : " we have tried to move with the times : we have established an Advisory Council." Several Princes tell you that they are equally progressive. Great

gains were taken to acquaint the Butler Committee of the progressive character of their administrations—but apparently without much success. It is certainly not our intention to disparage the attempts of those Princes who are making a genuine and serious effort to secure the co-operation of their subjects in the administration. But it must be admitted, however, that such Princes are few and far between.

The Butler Committee refers to these Assemblies in paragraph fifteen of their Report. " Of 108 Princes in Class One, 30 have established Legislative Councils, most of which are at present of a consultative nature only." Please note the language of high diplomacy " most of which are at present of a consultative nature only." The Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Rajputana States Peoples' Conference held at Pushkar not many years ago threw some interesting light on the constitution of one of these Assemblies :

> *" The system of administration in all the 21 States of Rajputana is hereditary despotism. With the exception of Bikaner, no State has a Legislative Council. The Bikaner Legislative Assembly, which consists of 45 members, has only 18 elected members, the rest being nominated and officials. Even the elected members are returned not by a direct vote of the people, but by the Municipalities which are officially ridden bodies. The Assembly resolutions are of a purely advisory character, the power to vote them rests with the executive and legislation can also be enacted without reference to the Assembly. In all other States there is not even a semblance af legislation by popular consent."*

The young Rajastan not long ago filled in some of the gaps in our knowledge as to the working of some of these reformed. " Constitutions " brought into being to impress Lord Irwin and a credulous British public that the Princes are " moving with the times ":

> *" The most important institution of the State is the Executive Council. But unfortunately members of this Council are neither subordinate nor responsible to the Legislature. They are in no way representative of the subjects. They are directly appointed by the Maharaja himself, and hold office at his sweet will. The Legislature has no authority to question the legality of an act of the Executive Council nor of the Municipal Committees at least in the mofussil, are nominated*

by the Government and that Tahsildar or Nazim presides over their deliberations. In this way the overwhelming majority of elected members are in fact nominated. The result is that there is absolutely no popular representation in the Assembly. These fictitiously elected persons cannot possibly be expected to have any sympathy with the general public of their respective Tahsils or Constituencies ; far less are they capable of doing justice to the multifarious and onerous functions of the Assembly."

But why go to the State Peoples' Conferences or to the *Rajastan.* The Administration Reports tell us all we need to know. For instance, of the Hyderabad Legislative Council and the Bikaner Legislative Assembly. The Hyderabad Council met twice in the year 1926-27. As the Administration Report for the year tells us, it passed exactly two bills. The report is, however, silent as to the time spent in the consideration of these bills and also as to why no other business was transacted. The Bikaner Assembly, on the other hand, when it meets, sets up a world record in the quantity of public business transacted. There were two sessions in the year 1927-28. The January session lasted three days, the September session two days. The business transacted during the three-day session consisted of an important pronouncement by His Highness on the position of the Princes and the States, also the definition of the duties of Kingship, already cited, the presentation and the discussion of the budget for the financial year 1927-28, six resolutions, and six bills. The two-day session later in the year consisted of an opening speech by the Prime Minister, a closing speech by His Highness, four interpellations, four resolutions and eight bills ; a record, which it will be agreed, more wonderful than the speeds attained for the Schnieder Trophy !

11

It may be asked what is the use of such Assemblies ? Why establish mock Councils at all ? Why not a benevolent and straightforward autocracy ? Why the humbug that Taine describes as the language of democracy and the way of tyrants ? There are a few Princes as already admitted, who are genuine in their desire to associate their subjects in the Administration. But there are often other reasons for the establishment of such Assemblies. There may be the nacessity of affording a democratic argument to the Prince during a European tour. Europe likes Princes but abhors despots. A Prince who can show that he is progressive

and democratic is popular. In some cases the motive may be sinister. There may be widespread discontent and misgovernment in the State. The Prince may be absorbing more of the State revenues than even the Chamber of Princes could justify. If, therefore, he wants to whitewash his administration, a good way to accomplish the desired object is to show to the Political Department and the Agent to the Governor-General that he is a constitutional ruler. An Assembly or Council may be formed : in mock proceedings the crimes of a generation may be condoned by the puppets of despotism and the slaves of tyranny. Typical of this class of pseudo-Democrat is the Ruler of a Southern State :

> *"The Prince was unpopular. From the first day of the marriage of his son the Maharaja seemed to take no unwholesome interest in his daughter-in-law, which naturally gave rise to suspicion in the mind of the Prince. It did not take much time for the Prince to detect the surreptitious motives of his indiscreet father upon his wife. The Yuvraja deliberately and boldly refused to accede to the wishes of a Don Juan father and the result was unpleasant friction. Life grew unbearable for the Yuvraja as he was oppressed in every conceivable way. He was given no money for his necessities of life ; the Sardars and Officials of the State were strictly prohibited by the orders of the Maharaja from showing their due respect and regard towards the future Ruler of the State."*

This Ruler was, at the same time, reported to have "impoverished the State Treasury by his vicious and wasteful ways of life," "collected revenues from the ryots several years in advance" and paid "no attention to the welfare of his subjects, pursuing his pleasures with increasing zeal." So a "Representative Assembly" was summoned, and it was announced by the President of the Council, on behalf of the Government, that "the State would take up the question of compulsory education in right earnest if the Assembly desired it." Incidentally "the annual budget was also discussed and passed."

In spite of the brave declaration that "we are moving with the times", in their heart of hearts the majority of Rulers have little sympathy with democratic ideas and popular sentiments. They look with suspicion upon the demand of their subjects. This is natural, for democracy spells constitutional monarchy. It is too altruistic a conception of human nature that five hundred odd

autocrats, will, of their own free will, divest themselves of the powers and privileges they now enjoy. It is true, many of them recognised that their safety lies in the goodwill of their subjects, but precept is easier than example and almost all clutch with fond hopes the crumbling hillside. Read between the lines of orations such as this:

> "*The fact is that the people's ignorance of modern and progressive ideas makes them an easy prey to bigotted conservatism, which leads to most deplorable communal strifes and creates a feeling of aversion in their minds to the initiation of social and other reforms. Their opposition to their education and their obstinacy against their adoption of modern medical, sanitary and scientific methods stand in the way of their political progress. You cannot alter these conditions by, so to say, a wave of the magic wand. You need centuries of persistent and honest work, and I think that it would not be practical politics to aspire to rule with any success a medieval people by 20th century methods. After all, one cannot lose sight of the fact that an ignorant and irresponsible democracy is, and can be, the greatest danger to a country, and thereby, to the peace of the whole world. I am convinced that the success of an Oriental people lies in their remaining Oriental.*"

> "*I am afraid, we have already had too many Western ideas forced on our Eastern minds, and that too at the expense of our own culture, and to the detriment of our civilization. There is no more room left for any further additions to these, at least not till we feel sure that this process will not lead us to become completely obvious of India's own greater past. Therefore, my earnest advice to all true sons of the country is that they should fully consider and weigh the pros and cons before they think demolishing an existing edifice.*" Nawab of Bhopal to Assembly, 21-9-29).

12

Chudgar maintains that with the exception of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin there is practically no State in which the representatives of the people have any effective voice or indeed any voice at all in the matter of legislation. Laws issued in the form of orders, decrees or *firmans* either by the Prince or by action taken under his instructions. They have no broader foundation than the mere caprice of the Prince. In some States, British Indian legislation is

adopted with such modifications as the Prince pleases, but these so-called laws are in no way binding on the Prince. He can repeal, amend and suspend them at his will and pleasure, and deprive any man of his liberty, commit him to prison for an indefinite period, and banish him from his birthplace at will without reason, charge, or trial. He can confiscate anybody's property, withdraw cases pending in courts, and pass such orders as he likes, regardless of the law. A subject cannot sue the Prince or his friends in the Courts for breach of contract or infringement of their rights. If an official, however low, commits a criminal offence in his private capacity, and even if the act constituting the offence is not in any way connected with his duty as an official, he cannot be prosecuted without the Chief's sanction. Even if there is no definite law prohibiting public meetings, the publication of newspapers or the forming of associations, no public meeting, even of a social nature, can be held, no newspaper can be started, no association formed without the Chief's sanction previously obtained. If these are held, started, or formed, the police can, at any time, step in and interfere. Against this there is no remedy. (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 556).

13

The administration of the State is above public opinion. The reasoning, if logical, is absurd. The King is the State, *L'Etat c'est Moi* or " I am the State.' The King can do no wrong. Here are two doctrines—legal criteria, as Sir Leslie Scott would call them—that regulate the relations between a Ruler and his subjects. If the Kings can do wrong and the administrative reins are in the King's own charge, the administrative machine must be infallible. What is not or cannot be wrong must be perfect. As the King can do no wrong, therefore, whatever he does must be right. Whatever his administration is like, it cannot be impeached on any score whatsoever. Upon this theory is conducted the administration of several hundred principalities. Anyone who presumes to differ from these well established legal formulæ, treads perilious ground. If he is a foreigner, that is not a State subject, he may be expelled. If the critic is a newspaper, it may be banned from the State. Even the *Times of India* is reported to have suffered this fate in certain States. Whoever you may be, your life, your property, your freedom, not infrequently the honour of your womenfolk, are entirely at the mercy and caprice of the Ruler. Against his orders there is no appeal, no revision, no action can lie in any of the Courts either in the State or elsewhere. The Para-

mount Power will merely file your petitions! The Prince knows he is maintained in his authority not by the will of his people, not by the sanction of any assemblage, not by reason of any conquest or military right, but by the accident of birth or adoption and by recognition of the Paramountcy. Autocracy is impregnable in and out of the State. Whoever attempts to show up the details of any particular Administration in its true colours, runs the gauntlet of the Princes Protection Act. Within the boundary pillars of the State, a Ruler can do pretty much as he pleases and how he pleases. He may create an offence which was not an offence when it occurred, he may withdraw your citizenship and direct you to quit the State within 24 hours, he may dissolve your marriage, disinherit your children, send you to the lock-up and keep you there for such time and on such terms as he pleases. He may give you hard labour for life for a small misdemeanour or for an imaginary crime, he may grant you an estate if you commit a murder in his interest. The theory of sovereignty translated into practice means the unimpeachable divine right to do anything, that is morally, socially and constitutionally wrong, without interference from the Paramount Power and the consequences of its displeasure.

14

Modern jurisprudence has virtually forgotten the offence of "sedition." The right to free speech and free association are among the main foundation of modern society. There are, however, clear laws regulating the right of speech and association in British India for obvious reasons. But such laws are constantly being applied with less and less vigour. What was the sedition twenty years ago is no longer construed as seditious to-day. The maximum penalty for sedition is two years' imprisonment, but the Courts seldom award the full penalty and sentences are generally reduced on appeal. The laws of sedition in the States are considerably more drastic than those in British India. Five years' hard labour is frequently the penalty for even a minor difference with the administration.

Typical of the sedition laws in the State may be cited regulations current in two Rajputana States. The law in Alwar is cited as follows :

"*(1). A meeting of more than five persons shall be presumed to be a public meeting within the meaning of this Act until the contrary is proved.*

" (2). At any public meeting no such subjects will be discussed or preached which are likely to do anything which may be contrary to the interests of Alwar State, its government, its sovereign or against the interests of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India, his government or against the interests of any other ruling Prince of India.

" (3). No person shall concern himself or conspire in convening or organising otherwise knowing taking part in the public meeting. No one may write, print or publish or circulate or attempt to write, print or publish or circulate any article or document inside the State or outside it which has a tendency indirect or direct against the interest of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, and his Royal family or his government or H. M. the King-Emperor of India or any other ruling Prince.

" (4). No person may subscribe or import to hold in his possession any such articles. Such persons whenever found shall be punished with imprisonment for five years for fine amounting to two thousand rupees. The offenders, if necessary, may be ordered to quit the State."

There are similar provisions in Jodhpur :

" Whoever by words spoken or written or by sign or visible representation or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt or excites or attempts to excite disaffection or disloyalty towards His Majesty the Emperor of India or His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, or his administration shall be deemed guilty of sedition.

No public meeting can be held for furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to promote sedition or cause disturbance of public tranquillity or for the exhibition or circulation or distribution of any written or printed matter.

Any subject of Marwar knowing that any other person has received seditious pamphlets or prohibited newspaper or periodical hostile to British Government or the Marwar Durbar or any matter likely to cause public disturbance of peace must report the same within 48 hours to the nearest Magistrate or Police Officer.

No subject of Marwar shall harbour or give shelter to any person whom he knows to be a notorious seditionist.

No subject of Marwar shall receive or keep in possession or distribute or help in distributing seditious writings or prohibited newspapers or periodicals hostile to the British Government or the Marwar Durbar or correspond or associate with notorious seditionists."

15

In a State, where there can be no intelligent criticism of the administration, where the Executive and the Judiciary merely register the decrees of the Ruler, the public services cannot be maintained in any degree of integrity or efficiency. No person is quite certain in what light he will appear in the Ruler's eyes the next day or what currents are moving in the deep waters of palace intrigue.

So while the sun shines, State officers make hay, collecting it in cosy barns across the frontiers. Because there is no security, no guarantee, that even a life-time service will be safe for the next 48 hours in the hands of the Ruler or a successor, almost every officer from the Chief Minister downwards to the Octroi Superintendent is often corrupt and steeped in graft.

Excepting in certain States the highest officers are not recruited for any definite qualifications. It is well known that the best qualification not infrequently is a relationship to the Ruler himself. A "father-in-law" or a "brother-in-law" of the Chief has scope of appointment, promotion and favours,—while the lady looks good in the Prince's eyes. The surest way to success in many States is to provide a companion for the Prince. Virgins are preferred, but generally any good-looking lady will do. The longer the lady stays in the palace, the better. Those who are in a position to provide variety for the Prince, gain considerable influence at the Court. There are several instances within the writer's knowledge, but two or three need only be mentioned. There is the fairly well known case of the Prince who had a child by the unmarried daughter of his European Private Secretary. Matters were hushed up by sending the girl and her baby to Europe and promoting the father to high ministerial appointment. Affairs in a certain State are also well known. The Chief was educated in one of the Chiefs Colleges, and on his investiture with the power of the *gadi*, appointed one of

his tutors as a Minister of State. This Minister gained great influence. More than one Chief Minister resigned in disgust, owing to sinister influence exercised by this man and his relations. He kept the Chief well supplied in the fair sex and the Ruler soon became " a tool in their hands." A journal reporting the conditions in this State disclosed the following facts :

> " *Two notorious figures in the State misguide the young Ruler and thus spell ruin to the State. The Minister and his son are* ipso facto *the rulers of the State and the Ruler is only in name. The family of. . . . . . can do anything and everything as they like and nobody is to question their authority. Appointments in the State are distributed to the members, relations and favourites of the. . . . . family. No qualification is required for posts in the State if the candidate is in any way connected with this family. If anybody happens to be in the bad books of (M) . . . . then he is oppressed by a band of* goondas *who are afforded protection by the Superintendent of Police, who is a son of the Minister.*

There is also the case of a Ruler prompting a sepoy in the State infantry to the rank of a noble to " wield so much influence (that he) was practically the Ruler of the State. There was no safety for women. . . . Ladies of respectable families had to quit the State if they cared for their honour. Illiterate, though he was, he resorted to all sorts of cruel means to wreak his vengeance upon those who happened to incur his displeasure." The Maharaja's eye fell on an attractive married lady. The one time sepoy, now a first class Sardar, said he would get her for his king. Get her he did raiding her home one night and shooting her husband dead. " She was carried away to the palace in a waiting motor car. She refused, however, to respond to the Ruler's attentions, for which she was ordered to be raped. Ten men carried out the execution, after which her throat was cut and her body thrown down a well." A Minister who protested lost his job.

If for any reason a favourite ceases to be the favourite, he is usually allowed 24 hours to take himself and his belongings out of the State. He may have served two years, he may have served twenty years, he may be a *tahsildar*, he may be a Chief Minister, he may be drawing Rs. 10 a month or Rs. 3,000 a month, if his Chief has no more use for him, he has to go and get out quick. If for some reason he is unable to cross the frontier in the 24 hours specified, he may be arrested and tried for treason or embezzle-

ment. His estates are forfeited and he is himself transferred to the dark dungeons for life. If sometime later he wants to buy his freedom, and his Ruler's favour, he may be deputed to put some inconvenient person out of the way as to seduce some person who has received the glad eye of royal favour. If he succeeds, he may be a Minister of State again.

While procurers have great vogue in certain States, so do some of the procured. There is the well-known case of a prominent Ruler who squanders his youth and his fortune on a demimondaine from Lahore. His Highness is the President of the Council, but the real Ruler of the State is reported to be the one time street girl of this city. The influence of a dancer some years ago in the politics of a certain Rajput State was widely discussed.

> *" Love alone remains unchanged in X. Love is a thing which happens like the measles or a toothache. It is a thing that can happen to most and the best. She was decidedly the nicest and jolliest girl in (town). But men thought she was wasted on that old (Ruler). It was true he was old enough to be her grandfather but you see she actually loved the old man, which was not a silly thing for a humble dancing girl for the sake of his immense wealth. She was first engaged on rupees sixty a month but then she grew so attractive that in the whole city there was none second to her in dancing. A look with the corner of her eye penetrated the heart of the most powerful man (in town).*
>
> *Her word was law and she made use of her influence to the best advantage. All the people who had to deal with (the Ruler) flocked to her place with innumerable presents in silver and gold. For full five years she controlled the affairs (of the State)."*

The influence of a dancing girl in another State was recently referred to in the press :

> *" She decided cases, gave promotions and appointments to her worshippers. The Nawab was only a toy in her hands. She had her own ways in everything. She had even her lovers as the Nawab was unfit for giving her any sexual pleasure."*

16

Such conditions are not rare. Equally important is the "instability of the services and prostitution of justice which has become so notorious during recent years as to become one of the most glaring scandals connected with State administration." (*Princely India*, 15th June, 1928).

> "*Officials are engaged by Princes on alluring terms but degenerate tendencies soon come into play and then pretexts are taken up to drive out officers without the slightest compunction or honesty. In a large number of cases it is the upstarts, hirelings and lackeys who hang about a Prince.*"

The same journal quotes an instance from a Rajput State:

> "*Panditji had put in a service extending over 15 years working in different departments of the State. He was a Judicial Minister himself. Later he became the Superintendent of the Jail. But his stars soon waned visibly.*
>
> "*About the middle of last year when the Superintendent was only two months in his new post a prisoner escaped from the jail. In consequence the Pandit was arrested. The escaped convict was brought back only to be rewarded for his courage by being offered a job. While the Panditji was sounding the depth of his misfortunes, under police rule fresh charges were thrown on his head. Bribery which was considered a virtue and the very salt of the profession at one time, turned soon against him.* (*Ibid*, 19th July, 1926).

In this connection the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who visited India in 1922, reported to his paper:

> "*But I think you may take it that very curious things do still occur in the less enlightened States. And even in the most enlightened States there is something not quite wholesome about the atmosphere of the palace or, at least of the palace back stairs. Two or three British Indian Government servants who had done good service and received honours in the progressive Native State have told me that they would do their best to discourage their sons from following in their footsteps. 'Too many temptations and too many intrigues,' they said.*

'Service in British India, that is the service for a straight-foaward steady boy.'"

Apart from insecurity, there is often great difficulty in the realisation of salaries. The Prince may need money—they often need it badly—for a European mistress whose contract is nearing completion or to pay for a new car or to feast the Viceroy or to fit up a home at Delhi or for one of the hundred and one uses for which the purse-strings of the State may be opened. If the treasury is thus empty, employees have to wait. There is no undue anxiety in such cases to pass the establishment bill nor is there any starvation if salaries remain in arrears. The Ruler knows thal his staff is dishonest, he knows that there are sources of income not confined to his pay cheques. The staff knows that State service is remunerative even without a formal salary :

> *" It is no secret in . . . . that the judicial posts are the most fertile in the State. And trading justices get on well if only they happen to be in the selected list, while a mechanic might profitably think twice before breaking a spanner belonging to the State if he is out of the list.*

In the same State :

> *" A sum of Rs. 3,71,188 was spent on His Highness's palace. That was the figure for 1922-23. Rs. 15,000 was expended in 1921 to decorate a palace to receive His Excellency the Viceroy. Such expenses ran all-round without a thought of the resources that in the end the hard cash extracted from the ryots in increasing rates was found still inadequate to meet demand on it. The casual observer sees little of the misery of the situation. The treasury for the major portion of the year is empty. It is a commonplace to see pay clerks of different Departments waiting at the door to catch hold of the first bag to reach the treasury. Thanks to the Octroi duty that bring from Rs. 3 to 4 lakhs a year, it sends a daily dole to the treasury. The writer has noticed often that at the closing of the month a circular reaches the departmental heads advising them not to put forwrad their pay bills before the end of the first or second week of the following month or later as the case may be."*

Except in certain States which have something like a public Service, often no principle is followed in the allocation of duties. It is not necessary to know very much law to be appointed the

Chief Judge, nor is any special knowledge of revenue essential to be entrusted with this department. The Police sees to it that the revenue is promptly and fully paid. Several cases have come within the writer's personal knowledge where extraordinary duties were allotted to exraordinary men. A Sanitary Inspector in a State in the Punjab recently held at the same time the post of Director of Industries. In another State the Judiciary is utilised during the cotton season for the collection of the land revenue. Such instances could be multiplied.

The Judiciary and the Executive is generally ill-paid. A Deputy Commissioner in British India may receive anything from Rs. 800 to 1,200 a month. An official corresponding to the same position in an Indian State may receive a hundred rupees or less. A Minister in a Provincial Government in British India receives about Rs. 5,000 monthly. Ministers even in the larger States do not generally receive more than Rs. 1,500 to 2,000 a month. While the Chief or Ruler receives possibly a hundred or two hundred times what a ruler of a State in Europe would receive, the scale of salaries in the administration generally is not more than one-eighth to one-quarter what is paid for similar responsibility elsewhere. The following facts among others reported by one well-acquainted with Indian States merit reiteration :

The Police.—The ordinary constables, the rank and file of the force, are drawn from the very scum of the population, and hardly one in a hundred of these knows how to read or write. In addition to being illiterate they are entirely without the knowledge and training necessary for their work. The average pay of the constable is between Rs. 3 to 10 per month. The Superintendent Police may receive as much as Rs. 35 or 40 a month. The result is—bribery and corruption. In the rank and file this is perpetual and new opportunities are for ever being created. Nearly 50 per cent. of crimes committed are never detected. Scarcely 30 per cent. of stolen property is ever recovered, and in murder cases scarcely one genuine culprit is brought to book. Innocent persons are often convicted on faked evidence, sworn to by false witnesses. Crimes of indescribable cruelty and ferocity are brought to light; but in very rare cases is effective action taken. (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 81.)

If any villager is not amenable to police pressure, what is more easy than to concoct a false case against him and hand the poor creature over to a magistrate who is himself far too much afraid of

the police to be able to acquit the accused, even though convinced of the latter's innocence? *(Ibid, p. 62.)*

As to witnesses, it is just as easy to procure these as it is to concoct a charge. No one dares to say a word in favour of the accused. Serious trouble might be the result. The accused, often an innocent man, is sent to jail or heavily fined, and the petty police official, having shown his power by one or two such examples in each village, completely estabishes himself as a little tyrant and is able to extort as much money as the poor villagers can afford. "In many instances the police themselves are the originators of the crimes. They employ well-known criminals to perpetrate the offences and act as accomplices in exchange for a share in the booty." (*Ibid*, p. 81.)

In the villages no attractive woman's honour is safe. The atmosphere is charged with intrigue and danger—*(Ibid*, p. 82*)*. There is keen competition among prospective seducers, as reward and honour follow up on the supply to the royal *harems* of a peach that really pleases the King.

The Subordinate Judiciary.—And now for the Subordinate Courts. Here we are confronted with a still sadder tale. Some of the officials of these courts are qualified, no doubt, but they are very badly paid, and since their superiors in the higher Courts are so slack, these smaller fry see no reason why they should not be slack too. Besides, in addition to their judicial work they have to attend to a host of miscellaneous duties, such as the attending of marriages and funerals of the Prince's relatives, of his friends, or of the relatives of his friends the accompanying of the Prince on his tours and of the ladies of the palace on their pilgrimages. (*Ibid*, p. 79.)

Sub-judges and magistrates receive from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 a month, although there are in several of the Kathiawar States several subordinate judges and magistrates who are invested with powers to pass sentences of seven years' imprisonment at the meagre salary of less than 100 rupees a month. Naturally it is not possible to expect either efficiency or honesty. (*Ibid*, p. 75.)

The High Courts.—Almost every State has a High Court or Chief Court, mostly recruited from the friends of the Diwan and sometimes from the briefless at the Bar in British India. Except in a very few States, the salary of a High Court Judge does not

exceed Rs. 500 per month. The High Courts are, therefore, not generally very " high " in morals, scruples or legal ability.

In these so-called Courts of Justice no subject may bring a charge against a State official, either for an offence committed in the course of his official duties or in the course of his private life. Even the village schoolmaster and the policeman earning the magnificent salary of two or three rupees a week are State Officials and as such are immune from prosecution. These persons may commit thefts and personal assaults and no action may be taken against them without the permission of the Prince. The permission may be refused without reason. (*Ibid*, p. 73.)

Where the Prince himself presides over the fountain-head of justice, matters are often worse, Few Princes can afford to forego the pleasure of a trip to Europe because the number of appeals pending is large. Similarly few can postpone a *shikar* because an urgent judicial decision is necessary. The wheel of justice turn slowly in several quarters of the world but never slowly as in the Native States of India. Ten years is quick work, usually a final decision *may be* reached in fifteen or twenty years. Often no decision is ever reached. The cases are adjourned from time to time for some reason or another : the judge may be busy, the Prince may be away, the file may be lost, the court clerk may be dead, the Viceroy may be coming, a Maharajkumar may have a son, the Rani may have 'scrapped'—any one of a hundred possibilities may occur. A criminal case is now pending in the Courts of one of the Punjab States which was *challaned* in 1904, The accused is supposed to have stolen a pair of shoes. The accused died in 1914 after being in the lock-up ten years for an offence for which the maximum punishment according to laws of the State is three months. Part of the file was mislaid in 1905 : it is still being sought after. The Court has no information that the accused and the complainant are now both dead. The case came up for hearing in February 1930 and the Magistrate recorded : " The file must really be found. *Ahlmad* be warned. Case to come up for framing of the charge on 2nd Bisakh."

The Executive.—The head of the Executive is the Diwan or Chief Minister. There have been some noteworthy holders to this office conspicuous for their ability, intelligence and devotion. But as he is often an outsider who is not an inhabitant or a subject of the State he has no natural feeling for, or interest in, the welfare of the people. His principal aim frequently is to consolidate his own

position. This he does by fulsome flattery of the Prince, whose vagaries he extols as a virtue. He proceeds to fill up all important and influential posts with his own relatives and personal friends. Even such measures as these do not always guarantee to the Prime Minister any certainty of continuance in office. Palace intrigues may deprive him of his office. He excites the jealousy of a number of persons, and he knows well how capricious is the favour of the Prince, who may at any moment remove him in favour of another man. Thus the position is in every way precarious, and the whole attention of the Diwan is concentrated on making hay while his own particular sun is shining—the result is that in such circumstances he has to adopt the usual methods of a servile flatterer. He gives the Prince full power and sanction to spend vast sums of money on luxury and display, and hardly ever attempts to prevent His Highness from leading a life of unbridled vice and self-indulgence.

Few Diwans survive a successor. The new Ruler has his own favourites to reward, men who have catered to his whims and passions as an heir-apparent. So with each new ruler there is a new host of administrators. So many Diwans make the most of the time and opportunities available. The salary may be only Rs. 2,000 a month, but the position is worth much more. One never is quite sure how and for what reason the order of the boot may be given. A Diwan of one of the Southern States not long ago incurred the displeasure of his Chief by declining to send his daughter to the palace. The Prince planned a revenge deeper than a mere dismissal. The police were instructed to prepare a case of embezzlement. But the head of the Police was a favourite of the Diwan—the secret was out—the Diwan made good his escape to the hospitable territories of British India in the fastest car available. Such cases are not unusual. The length of service as Diwan as for other officials of the State are entirely within the purview of the Prince's caprice. A State in the Central India Agency in the course of twenty years had as many as twenty different Diwans. Few Diwans last more than a few years. But while they do, theirs is the wealth of 'Ormus and of Ind.' A Prime Minister in a Rajputana State had the rare good fortune to be Diwan for many years. While Diwan, he received a salary of Rs. 1,500 a month, or Rs. 13,000 a year. In twenty-one years he received the aggregate sum of Rs. 3,73,000. His services were rewarded also with a *jagir* aggregating in the time that he was a Diwan a sum of Rs, 2,70,000. The ostensible aggregate of income was, therefore, about Rs. 6,50,000 in twenty-one years. After

meeting the education and marriage of three sons and two daughters declared to have cost in all Rs. 2,45,000 and expenses of his palace and estates for the twenty-one years he was reported to have had at the end of the period tangible assets amounting to over 22 lacs !

While, therefore, the duties of a Diwan are delicate there is much reward, often, if he can successfully overcome the intrigues of the Princes' favourites and other difficulties of his office. The Ranis may send for him when the Prince is away, the Political Agent may want a European officer put here and there, a journal in India may hold an important document for blackmail, the dancing girls may have a grievance, bills in Calcutta may be pending. If he can steer successfully through the rocks—winning the favour of the Prince, satisfying the Ranis, pleasing the Political Agent, keeping the press in hand, sharing what the Americans call the ' spoils of office,' with the Vakilkhana, he should find that he has one of the best jobs in the world—honours, titles, pearls of price and the apples of Eden !

17

Very few Englishmen take the trouble to learn the language of the people. But whether a European is a cold weather visitor or is a civilian of thirty years' service, he is, in his own opinion, pre-eminently qualified to dogmatize on the lives, the manners, customs, capacities and aspirations of the people of this country. Perhaps there is no country in the world about which there are more books written than upon India. Perhaps there is no country about which there are more deliberate falsehoods retailed than this country. In recent times we have had Miss Mayo's assertions regarding Indian young men. We now and again have Sir Michæl O'Dwyer's effusions and Sir Walter Lawrence's Memoirs. We all know that Miss Mayo does not speak from personal experience, nor does the world overlook in Sir Michæl's case that the ranks of vitriolic freelances are often filled by dethroned monarchs and unsuccessful administrators. And the India that Sir Walter Lawrence served was confined in no inconsiderable portion to the Messes and Gymkhanas or happy days in the Kulu Valley and moon-lit nights on the lakes of Kashmir. Addressing the Royal Institute in March 1914, Sir Walter referred to the subjects of Indian States :

" *During my twenty-one years of life in India I was always*

comparing the conditions in Indian States with the conditions prevailing in British India, and I am of opinion that the people in the Indian States are happier and more contented than are their brethren over the border in British territory. They have a government more congenial more in accordance with their own ideas, in short, a government that is Indian. As an Englishman I might prefer to live in British territory, but if I were an Indian I should most certainly elect to live in an Indian State. There is more chance, more scope for individuality. There is more freedom and less overt and ever present government. There is a career there open to the talents, there is no one there to jar on their religious and social prejudices, and to run counter to their religious and social prejudices, and above all there is no one to disturb their quiet. I admit at once that from an English point of view the standard of efficiency is lower in the Indian States than it is in British territory. But my point is that our standard is too high for the Indians. It is rigid and uncomfortable for them; and for us it is becoming daily more difficult to maintain the standard."

Sir Walter Lawrence is quoted with approval in *Scraps of Paper* (pp. 30-31). Sir Walter Lawrence's opinion is not intended to be an indictment of British rule though it reads very much like one. It is not intended even as a compliment to the rulers of the Indian States. What is then the value of this opinion? Are the people of the States very happy? The reason is not far to seek—people like Sir Walter Lawrence and Sir Michæl O'Dwyer hate the agitator class. They hate anything savouring of a 'reform movement.' Minto-Morley Schemes or Montagu-Chelmsford encroachments on vested authority. Civilization we know is the capacity to kick. The Indian who goes to Oxford and Cambridge learns something of the ways of civilization. In other words, he begins to kick. It takes a lot of kicking however to make any serious impression on the crocodile gaiters of the services. But the vested interests in the services hate the kicking, they hate the lesson that civilization is teaching the Indians. Therefore, the pathetic sympathy for India. Western culture is not suited to the immemorial East, the glory of the Eastern sun is dimmed by the dust raised by foolish experiments in Western democracy. India is drifting perilously to perdition, thanks to the silly notions learnt at Oxford and Cambridge. There has been an entire disregard of realities by idealists like Montagu and weak administrators like Lord Irwin, who allow Pandits from Allahabad and revolutionaries like Gandhi to interfere with the navigation charts. India needs strength. And changing the

metaphor, India, lacks the hand of the master. To negotiate with the Congress is playing with fire. Experiments in Western types of administration must fail because parliamentary government is essentially European in conception. It does not fit in with the customs and temperament of Easterners. People in the States are happier under their own Rulers, who, if not quite up to European standards of efficiency, have the pomp and autocracy that is so dear to the Indian heart. Hence, therefore, the solution of India's difficulties by ex-Colonels and retired Lieutenant-Governors :

> "*I admire the Indians, and respect their great qualities, and believe in their great future. And because I hold that their future is endangered by the recent experiments,—by the concessions which conciliate no one, and merely weaken our Government and puzzle and exasperate the people*—I *venture to suggest another experiment, a new form of government that would appeal to Indian ideals, and would not weaken the British connection. I would turn the whole of British India into Indian States.*" (Sir Walter Lawrence at the Royal Institute, 1914.)

The statements of Sir Walter Lawrence, above cited, are typical of the mentality of the ex-civilian. In its reference to the affairs of British India we are not here concerned and the only reason for reproducing the second paragraph was to complete the picture. The Graf Zeppelin not long ago paid a visit to England. There was only one mooring mast at Cardington. The R100 which was incomplete hurriedly came out of its shed and took possession of the mast. In doing so it broke its nose. The R100 was described as a dog in the manger. The ex-civilian is much the same.

Sir Walter Lawrence in addressing the Royal Institute did not cite any illustration or any authority for the hypothesis to his theory. No doubt he referred to the 21 years' life in India, but we all know how 21 years of a civilian are spent. Indeed the evidence available is entirely in the opposite direction. The subjects of the Indian States are not happier and more contented than their brethren in British India. Says Mr. Ranga Iyer in his brilliant book (*India : Peace or War?* pp. 162-63) :

> "*One-man rule is bad enough even when the man is able, but when it degenerates into the rule of a man who is addicted to the worst vices of Oriental despotism—women,*

wine and idle amusements at the cost of the people—it becomes a nightmare. Were a referendum taken to-day among the subjects they would cheerfully vote for the annexation of the States to British India. The States exist to-day because of the mercy of the British.

" Had there been in British India one thousandth of that corruption and dishonesty and oppression and uncontrolled autocracy you find in the Indian States, the British Raj would have perished long ago."

Mr. Chintamani in this matter quoted to the Indian Peoples Conference (25th May, 1929) the dicta of Sir Albion Banerji :

" Of another State its recently retired Foreign and Political Minister, an I.C.S. Officer until a few years ago and one who had been Prime Minister of two other States, has told a press representative a little time ago things which cannot bring glory of satisfaction to its august ruler. A large section of the population ,absolutely illiterate and poor, 'governed like dumb, driven cattle' : 'no touch between the Government and the people' : 'no means open to them to represent their grievances' : 'the administrative machinery required overhauling from top to bottom' : 'the intellectual classes are also in a sense depressed classes' : 'hardly any public opinion': 'even bare subsistence is denied under the existing conditions. No, gentlemen, I am not quoting Mr. Abhyankar. These are the compliments pvblically showered on the administration of which he was lately a member by Sir Albion Banerji."

Looking at the circumstances more closely we find that there are two classes of Indian States—The Salute States and the non-Salute States. Officially the classification is referred to as First Division and Second Division. The classification means no more than that the First Division States are entitled to a salute of guns, while the Second Division have not this privilege. The number of guns varies with the importance of the Ruler. The Nizam of Hyderabad gets 21, the Ruler of Benganapalle only 9. The Salute States generally exercise powers of internal administration, make their own laws, and have power of life and death over their subjects. Their courts are not subject to any appealable jurisdiction even in cases of the extreme penalty of the law. A theoretical exception is recognised by petition to the Governor-General-in-Council, but in practice this has been a dead letter.

In the exercise of these judicial powers the only limitation upon these States is that they cannot try European British subjects for capital offences. (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, pp. 4-5.)

The non-Salute States cannot in certain cases make laws without the sanction and approval of the Government of India. Their judicial powers are limited to the trial of minor offences. Serious offences are tried by the Political Agent or Resident attached to the States. In the matter of general administration these States are subject to larger outside control than are the States of the First Division. There are some States in this classification whose executive, legislative, and judicial powers are divided between Chiefs and the Political Agents or Residents attached to those States.

We have noticed that Taxation in the States is not regulated by the requirements of the administration. Nor is a payment by the people for services rendered to the body-politic by the State.

Taxation is often based only upon two principles. How much does the Ruler need and how much can the people pay. The latter is literally of secondary importance. Taxation is one of the attributes of ' sovereignty.' It is recognised by the League of Nations : it is railfied in the extortion of the populace :

' *Revenue has a way of increasing. The Repart for 1921-22 on land revenue had the following paragraph : Out of the 10 Tahsils of the State new jama has been announced in 4 Tahsils. There has been, in consequence, an increase of Rs. 3,32,476 over the old assessment, bringing the total revenue to Rs. 25,86,352." " As a result of new settlement the revenue has been increased by Rs. 5,02,986 on pure Khalsa land." But Rs. 5 lakhs were found insufficient to meet the increased expenses of the racing department. The search for further taxation on the poor subject soon proved fruitful. The toll levied on wheeled traffic as well as on pedestrians on particular roads gave scope for increase. An Extraordinary Gazette published in November, 1922 proclaimed : " Whereas the object of the Valley toll rates has awlays been the discouragement of traffic along that road which was primarily and essentially made for Shikar purposes.........His Highness has revised the rates ....and if the public have taken undue advantage of it*

for commerce and trade the object for which the road was made cannot be allowed to be overlooked nor be hindered by the subsequent misuse of it." Rates were then quoted. Levies on bullocks' cart and camels were raised from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, horse and mules from Re. 1 to Rs. 5, on pedestrians from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 and so on. Generally the rates were increased from 2 to 5 times.' "Princely India," 26th July, 1926).

Taxes are paid, some in cash, some in kind. The principal source of revenue is generally the land tax. There are other taxes, taxes on professions, taxes on cattle, imports and exports. In certain States births and deaths are a source of income. The Rulers of these Principalities share the joys of marriage with their subject. Every nuptial in the State adds to the Treasury coffers, while His Highness celebrates his *jus primi noctu.* The share of the State in the cultivator's earnings is seldom under one-half. The other half provides the seeds for the next crop, the clothes for the family, food for a whole year, the *hakim,* the *dai* and the palm oil to the loyal thanadar. The half paid to the treasury contributes towards the Chamber of Princes, the new Villa in Nice, purchases in the *Rue de la Paix, Shikar* of the Political Agent, travels in Italy, banquets in London, and soft bosoms in Spain.

"Scarcely a day passes," says a friend in the Political and Foreign Department, "when we do not receive some petition about the maladministration of a State, the exploitation of the subjects and the loose character of the Ruler. We file the petition for further reference, but generally do nothing." Typical of such petitions was one recently handed to the Viceroy on a visit to a certain State. It enumerated the following among other grievances :

"In one village with a population of about 1,500 and 90 cultivators holding leases the over-assessment on the actual land value during the course of the last 16 years amounted to Rs. 56,000. From time to time numerous petitions were submitted to the State authorities, but the cultivators were rever able to obtain an adjustment. In the face of this standing grievance the Revenue Authorities of the State had decided to increase the land rent by 37½ per cent.

(2) *The already heavy burden of the cultivators was further*

aggravated by a temple-tax of 25 per cent. on every cultivator's holding throughout the State. This tax is extraordinary as a similar tax has never before been charged in any other State in India, and they do not know to what use the sum of about one and a half lakh of rupees levied on this account has been put.

(3) Not long ago often the temple-tax was recovered, and about 10 years ago a Mundi (State grain depot) was established in Dewas to which the cultivators were ordered without fail to take their products for disposal. Whatever is taken to the Mundi is put up for auction in which the cultivators lose about a fourth part of the actual value of their products. . . Furthermore, in the order establishing the Mundi, the State Authorities fixed such heavy export duties that even if they did take their wheat, etc., to the markets of the adjoining States, they could never derive any profit.

(4) An Act was passed in 1921 by His Highness the Maharaja and the members of his government which required every cultivator to acquire proprietary rights in this holding. This law was so framed as to make the lessee pay from 3 to 10 years' land tax in case of delay in applying for the proprietary rights within the specified time ; that in some cases of refusal or inability to pay the Nazranas *as this tax has been termed, the holdings of the defaulting cultivators have been confiscated in-spite of the fact that their leases were still to run for another 3 to 4 years more; that some of the cultivators who could not pay the* Nazranas *were subjected to tortures ; while those who could not bear the idea of quitting lands which had been in possession of the family for the last three or four generations, borrowed money at ruinously high rates at compound interest, and had become hopelessly involved in debt.*

(5) Yet another, the Prince's marriage tax was ordered to be collected from May, 1923, from all cultivators, in the first instance at 100 per cent. and later at 87 per cent, on each man's holding ; and if this tax was not paid to the Revenue Officer, it was cut from the auctioned price of the cultivator's products at the Mundi.

(6) The memorialists submit that they know full well His Excellency's interest in cultivation, and his sympathy for

cultivators; and they, therefore, approach His Excellency for kind consideration on their humble prayer, so that they and their families may once for all be relieved from their anxieties, hardships and miseries from which they have been suffering so long. ("Princely India," October 5th, 1928.)

18

In the case of the Prince referred to above who first levied a temple-tax of 25 per cent on the cultivators holding, who then forced proprietary rights to be acquired at a price of three to ten times the land tax, and then an exorbitant tax to meet his marriage expenses is said to have raised in all 32 lacs by these means. No account has been forthcoming as to what purposes these special taxes were applied. The Chamber of Princes cannot answer—it is beyond the purview of its jurisdiction,—the British Parliament does not interfére in the discretion of the men on the spot, have too many worries of their own, the Agent to the Governor-General cannot be bothered. The cultivators dare not resist the exercise of the Prince's "sovereignty." He pays up. In case he cannot, "he is thrashed, or his holding confiscated, auctioned and he and his family turned adrift." (*Ibid*, 6th July, 1928). Conditions in other states are not very different:

> "*To give an idea of the misery obtaining at present, I would mention a few instances. A Bhil was arrested the other day on a charge of theft. When examined by the local court he confessed he had stolen a young buffalo, but pleaded that having had nothing to eat for two days, he had shared the animal with his wife and kiddies. An old woman was seen a few days ago sifting small corn from an anthil. A young untouchable woman and her three small children had no meal for three days and her blind husband no cloth to cover his shame.*
>
> "*Besides these typical cases, general crime has abnormally increased. One hears everyday of travellers being waylaid and crops stolen and sees numbers borrowing food, many starving and others selling off standing crops.*" (*Ibid*, 11th March, 1929).

In the State above referred to the Prince's Garage is budgeted at 2,45,000.

Mysore is a modern and progressive State which tries to keep

abreast with British India even in respect of constitutional development. There are hardly half-a-dozen States that maintain the standards set up by Mysore. But even here things are not as they might be. " There is no freedom of press, of association or speech, and deportations, externments and forfeitures of property can be inflicted on any one without even the semblance of a judicial enquiry and by the executive alone." The general conditions are described in the following manner by Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao, an elected member of the Mysore Representative Assembly :

> " *Taxation is very high and revisions of land revenue assessments are too frequent and are subject to no statutory limitation. Excise revenue is going up by leaps and bounds. . . The indebtedness of the ryots is appalling and improvement of lands and agricultural enterprise are at a standstill. Despair is writ large on the brows of the toilers in the fields. Labour is yet an unrecognised element and its claim to protection are ignored. The civil administration is top-heavy and quite an army of fat salaried officers and reserve men, wholly out of proportion to the work to be turned out, are being maintained at the cost of the over-burdened ryots . . . The lower ranks of the public service are underpaid and the majority are not in receipt of a living wage. Consequently corruption, ineptitude and discontent are on the increase among them . . . Government as conducted to-day has no initiative, no desire and no conviction that it has anything to do in particular . . . It spends more money but little energy.*"

On the whole, however, it appears that Mysore and possibly a half dozen more are tolerably like British India.

The picture painted of the Rajputana States by a contributor to the famous *Modern Review* (December 1928) is that of a hereditary despotism. " The will of the Ruler and his executive is law. A circular or an order issued under the signature of the Maharaja or his Secretary treats a certain act as an offence, determines punishment for the same and empowers anybody, judicial or otherwise, to exercise that power. Executive orders are issued taking away certain powers from civil and criminal courts and entrusting them to an executive officer."

" There is no law in any state in Rajputana guaranteeing to the citizen liberty of speech, liberty of the press, liberty of association and security of person and property . . . Public meeting of a

political nature and public organs dealing with politics are things unknown in Rajputana. Instances of arbitrary expulsion or confinement, proscription of newspapers and confiscation of property are not very rare. In a majority of the States, there are serious statutory restriction on these elementary rights of humanity. But more potent than anything else to gag personal freedom is the atmosphere of general intimidation and indirect official pressure obtaining in the States."

"Local self-government of a tangible character is non-existent. Municipalities there are in most of the capital towns and a few others, but they are almost all official nominated bodies . . . There are no local boards in any of the States in Rajputana . . . There are no village Panchayats except in Kotah and Bikaner . . ."

Slavery still exists in the Rajputana States. The number of slaves is estimated at 1,61,735. They are found in the palace of every Rajput Prince, Jagirdar or feudatory. They "are openly exchanged as presents and articles of dowry and at times even sold though secretly . . . ." Their masters "have absolute authority over their persons and chastity, and regulate their marriages and divorces to suit their own convenience. Personal violence and outrages on modesty are not an uncommon fate of these unfortunate beings."

The system of *Begar* still prevails in most of the States. The depressed classes, who form about 18 per cent. of the population, cannot escape this enforced labour for which they are paid nominally, sometimes in cash and sometimes in food. But the payment "is always inadequate in theory and often denied in practice. *Begar* is exacted in the acutest form and attended with the greatest hardship to its victims on the occasions of Viceregal visits in the States . . ."

"Over a million persons, including Gujars who are cattle lifters, are doomed to be criminals from the cradle to the grave."

"Factory labour is very scarce in Rajputana but the little that there is, is very badly off. In the 224 industries, only 19,175 persons are employed, out of whom 895 are women and 1,021 are children under 14. The hours of daily work range from 12 to 15. "There is no factory law. There are no provisions for education, old age pensions, compensations and maternity benefit for workers."

About 87 per cent. of the population is engaged in agriculture but owing to the poverty of the soil, lack of general irrigation facilities and subsidiary occupations the peasantry is in a chronic state of scarcity and famine. " To add to the cruelty of the Situation, the assessment of revenue is heavy . . . Few States have any revenue code. Assessment can be and is renewed and increased at the sweet will of the powers that be. Nor is land revenue the only state call upon the slender purse of the cultivator. There are a number of additional cesses, which sometimes present amusing and ingenious methods of exploitation. For example, in the Jodhpur State, the number of such cesses reaches up to a hundred. Except Kotah and Bikaner no State has established co-operative credit societies or agricultural banks. The consequence is that the peasantry is heavily indebted to usurers. Chronic poverty, want of sanitation and medical relief, ignorance and disease have conspired to reduce his vitality to its minimum . . ."

" Education is most backward in the Rajputana States. The percentage of literacy, as a whole, is little over three but literacy among women is less than 2 per ceut. Provision for imparting primary education is very inadequate. There is one school for 701 persons or 31 square miles or 17 villages in Alwar ; for 12,116 persons or 230 square miles or 27 villages in Jodhpur ; and for 10,307 persons or 364 square miles or 33 villages in Bikaner. The ratio of expenditure on education and royalty to the total revenue is . . . illuminating. Let us take the professedly advanced States :

State			Expenditure on Royalty	Expenditure on Education
Bikaner	...	...	11 per cent	1·5 per cent
Jodhpur	...	...	16 per cent	3 per cent
Alwar	...	...	50 per cent	1 per cent

Other conditions especially in the villages are deplorable. " There are no roads, no sanitary arrangements, no hospitals or dispensaries, and no provision for lighting in the villages in any of the Rajputana States. People die in thousands for want of medical help. Expenditure on medical relief in Jodhpur, Alwar and Bikaner is 2·25 per cent, 3 per cent. and 1·4 per cent of the revenue respectively. The condition of women in Rajputana is also not very enviable. Over 41 per cent of the total number of married women are widows. Polygamy is prevalent among the ruling

classes and there is hardly a Maharaja and few Jagirdars content with a single wife or woman. The late Maharaja of Jodhpur had more than 3,000 women in his Palace . . . !"

19

Conditions in the States generally are not differnt from Rajputana where "87 per cent reside in villages. They depend absolutely on the produce of the land which varies with the degree and punctuation of rainfall. The agricultural class is immersed in acute poverty and ignorance. The Rulers of these States pay little heed to the sufferings of the class who contribute a major portion to the State revenue for the profligacy of the prince." *(Rajputana State Peoples Conference,* 23rd and 24th November, 1928.)

The question of forced labour was an item on the Agenda of the Fourteenth Session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva and was, under the double discussion procedure, given a preliminary consideration at the Twelfth Session and a comprehensive questionnaire was issued by the International Labour Office in order to elicit public opinion as to how and to what extent forced labour should be regulated with a view to ultimately abolishing the system. The question of Forced Labour appears first to have been brought within the sphere of International consideration by the Peace Conference. The Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations considered, among other things, two main questions, *viz.*, (1) System of compulsory labour, public or private, paid or unpaid; and (2) the measures taken or contemplated to facilitate the transition from servile or compulsory labour, to free wage labour or independent production, and they recommended that an International Convention on the subject was desirable and suggested (1) that forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services, should be prohibited and (2) that certain precautions should be laid down to be observed by the authorities in the recruiting of labour. In pursuance of the recommendations of this Commission the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations in 1926 adopted a draft Convention called the "Slavery Convention," which has been ratified by India: "The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, Jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery."

The following are some of the internationally accepted principles regarding forced labour :

(*a*) That no forced labour is permissible except for essential public works and services.

(*b*) As a general rule forced labour for public purposes should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labour.

(*c*) All forced labour is to be adequately remunerated.

The general public purposes for which forced labour are classified under five main heads :

(1) Public Works, (2) Porterage, (3) Emergencies, (4) Compulsory Cultivation ; and (5) Other purposes. The International Labour Office conducted an enquiry into the practices with regard to forced labour obtaining in the various countries, including India, prior to the drafting of the questionnaire on the subject. No reference to the old institution of " chher " is now reported.

The extent and the nature of forced labour prevalent in the Indian States are as follows :

" According to the Census report of 1921, there were 160,755 slaves in Rajputana and Central India alone, including 10,884 born, domestic slaves in Bikaner and 48,100 in Jodhpur. They are known by various names, such as Darogas, Huzaris, Ravanea, Rajputs, Chelas and Golas, and are owned by Princes, Hindu and Muslim alike. They are bound to be life long servants of their masters and are not allowed to own property, except a few necessaries. Their masters exercise the power of disposing of their wives and daughters and to a great extent control their marriages and divorces. If they run away to other States, they are liable to be brought back and returned to their masters.

" In Jodhpur, if the Darogas fail to give service, commensurate with the position and requirements of the master, the latter is legally entitled to compel them to do so. Rajputs who have Darogas born in their houses and who have brought them up are entitled to give away their daughters as part of the dowry of their own daughters. In Kotah, agricultural labourers, shepherds, cowherds and surfs of the State are not allowed to emigrate to

another State unless they have arrived at a settlement with their masters. They are also prohibited from entering State service.

" The systems of Veth and Begar (Forced Labour) prevail in almost all the Indian States and all classes of laboures a nd artisans are compelled to work for the Princes and their officials for remuneration which in practice is nothing but their food. They are compelled to work at any time and for such time as the State wishes and are also forced to travel long distances from their homes to distant villages or to the hills and jungles, and when Princes and their guests go ahunting or officials are on tours.

" According to the Bundi State regulations, several classes of people, such as barbers, oil-makers, betel-sellers, butchers, peasants and bhils (aboriginies), mast work for nothing or supply free of charge such material as fuel, skins for drums, and dried cowdung. For all labour carried out for State purposes food must be given and for all work done for public servants wages must be paid, but such labour must be done by the classes hereditarily bound to perform it, and if members of these classes refuse to do their work, they must be properly punished." (*Times of India Year Book, 1930.*)

20

Sometimes the poor worm turns. It may be trampled upon, it may be wiped out of existence, but it registers its protests, ineffective though it be, at the beak of the vulture or the paw of the cat. Long suffering people may, when things are unbearable, rebel. But the struggle is shortlived. The State Army turns out, wipes out a few of the ringleaders, three or four hundred are sentenced to a life's hard labour, their properties are confiscated, their womenfolk may be raped and peace is established ! In a rising in one of the Rajputana States there was in the words of a contemporaty authority an " infamous massacre in which 123 innocent and unarmed women and children were butchered, and a whole village was swept out of sight ! " (*Princely India*, 19th August, 1926).

The cause was agrarian. There have been others of a similar nature. But a Prince's position is unassailable. He is according to all authority a sovereign Prince, he may be dethroned if he is a nuisance to a neighbour, he may be dethroned if he is a nuisance to the Political Department, he may be dethroned if he is implicated

in a murder in *British India*, but if he spends all his time with his wine bottles and his sinewy concubines, if he exploits his subjects to their uttermost farthings, if his State is a den of debauchery, corruption and vice, if he squanders the revenues on fantastic hobbies, if he pawns the jewels of the State, if as a ruler he is a despot, as a man a vagabond, the Paramountcy will generally not be enforced. Once or twice during his term the Viceroy will pay a visit to his State. There will be buntings and bodyguards, *durbars* and *shikars*. In the bubbles of champagne and the scent of the hunt are forgotten the archives of the Government of India—reeking with the crimes of the worst despotism the world has ever seen. In post-prandial enthusiasm a Political Secretary may even say " I have yet to see a Prince who is more efficient in administering his State. To those of you who doubt me I would ask you to see (for yourselves) : you will find no tumble-down buildings or reckless growth of houses but in place of this you will notice the clean and perfectly kept roads and beautiful palaces and tanks of vast areas."

Contrast this with what the Indian States People present in a memorandum to the Butler Committee :

> " *The State is generally treated as a private estate by the Ruler, there is no definite civil list, the Budget is not published, is not subject to independent audit, the institution of Public Accounts Committee is unheard of, in these States. The people have got no voice in taxation, in legislation and administration of these States. This is the condition so far as the Political Agents are concerned.*
>
> " *Another most important factor of constitutional Government is the rule of Law. This does not exist in most of the Indian States barring a few rare exceptions. There is no liberty of person, no privilege of seeking a writ of Habeus Corpus, no equality of every one in the eye of law. Supreme arbitrary and discretionary power is exercised by the Ruler and royal lawlessness is perceptible everywhere in the autocratic States. There is no security of property ; and even liberty of conscience is not generally enjoyed in a State where the Ruler belongs to a different faith from that of his subjects.*"

One of the greatest mistakes committed is to judge Mysore, Travancore and a few other States as representative of conditions in Indian States. It cannot be too well remembered that the

principalities ruled by the Chiefs are in the neighbourhood of six hundred. Mysore and Travancore and the comparatively few others whose administrations can in any degree be considered as modern are possibly not more than half a dozen in a hundred and certainly not more than a score in a hundred. In few States indeed is the service honest or the administration efficient, or an adequate amount spent on public welfare departments, or any articulate mode of the expression of public opinion permitted. These points considered in detail throw further light on the happy lot of the peole under the suzerainty of the several Ciceros and Caligulas of the modern age for whom, in the words of a Maharani, "purity does not exist," and who are "above such human considerations of virtue."

As Col. Powell rightly thinks, despotism is making its last stand in the States of India. "They constitute the sole remnants of the world's autocracies: Above the Forbidden City the dragon banner has been replaced by the standard of the Chinese Republic. The Emperor of Japan, a representative of an autocratic dynasty which goes back unbrokenly for five and twenty centuries, has about as much real power as the President of France. The Korean Emperors are but historic momories. The Shah of Persia, a dozen years ago a humbler trooper in the Cossack Horse, is sternly curbed by the Mejliss. Turkey, under the dictatorship of its grim soldier-President, seems bent on out-westernizing the West. The Autocrat of all the Russians lies in an unknown grave and the red banner of Bolshivism flaunts triumphantly from Moscow to Vladivostok. The Sultan of Morocco is a puppet and the French resident at Rabat pulls the strings.

"In the Indian States, and there alone, you may still see what was meant by the age-long despotisms of Asia. There you may still envision those gorgeous and dramatic figures whose scimitars maintained the Pecock Throne, with their fabulous wealth and unimaginable splendour; their love of magnificence and pomp, their reckless extravagance, their enervating luxury, their curious customs and deeply-rooted superstitions, their palaces ornate, vast and impenetrable, their jealously guarded Zenanas, their veiled concubines and sinuous, bejewelled dancing-girls, their belief that women were created for the sensual gratification of men, their contempt for human life, their terrible tortures and awful punishments, their treasure houses filled with gold and jewels, their squadrons of mailclad horsemen, their hords of servants and retainers, their fairylike lakes and scented gardens, their priests and idols, their

elephants and tigers." (*Last Home of Mystery*, p. 93).

As long as twenty years ago, a famous Diwan (Sir Madho Rao) declared that the British Government should prescribe a body of fundamental principles for the guidance of the States and should see that these principles are steadfastly carried out. Sir Madho Rao said :

> *" If I may venture to submit a reply to this momentous question, I would say that the British Government should prescribe a body of fundamental principles for the guidance of the Native States—in short, a constitution or plan of Government which a Prince should be bound to conform to on pain of his being set aside in favour of his next heir. And, prescribing such a body of fundamental principles, the British Government should charge its Political Agent with the duty of seeing that those principles are steadily carried out as far as possible.*
>
> *" I contend that mere general advice tendered by Viceroys and the Governors, however eloquent or earnest, will have but little effect in Native States. The Darbars over, the Princes return to their States little wiser than before . . . . They may understand that the Viceroy wants them to govern well. But what is good government? This for practical good must be defined and about this there ought to be a clear understanding on both sides. In point of fact, there is no common understanding at present. Many a Prince thinks he is governing well and this of course according to his own very limited lights while he may not in reality be governing well at all."*

Even in Europe where the progress of events has favoured the growth of freedom, no State is considered safe without a regular constitution laying down the essential and fundamental principles which are to be followed in the government of the country. And can it be at all reasonably expected that Asiatic despotisms will fulfil the sacred duties of government to their subjects without the salutary restraints of an established constitution? Only one answer is possible.

His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, circulated to the Princes on June the 14th, 1927, a note laying down the broad principles of administration and government :

" I. The function of a government may be described as the

task of ensuring to the individuals composing the society governed, the opportunity of developing themselves as human beings, and secondly, of welding them into a compact and contented State. The discharge of this double function involves the necessity of finding and maintaining the due balance between the rights of the individual and those of the State to which he belongs.

II. Stated differently, the ordered life of the community depends upon being regulated, not by the arbitrary will of individuals, but by Law, which should expressly or tacitly be based upon and represent the general will of the community.

This is equally true of autocracy, oligarchy, democracy; and the efforts of the rulers, therefore, whether they be one or many, should be directed to establishment of the reign of Law.

III. The application of these principles implies—among other needs:

(*a*) The protection of individual liberty, rights, property, etc.

(*b*) The provision of adequate machinery for the adjustment of disputes between individuals.

(*c*) The provision of adequate machinery of justice, *i.e.*, proper code of law, law courts, appeals, etc.

(*d*) The recognition of the equality of all members of the State before the Law.

IV. These things depend upon:

(*i*) an administration conducted in accordance with the law;

(*ii*) an efficient and uncorrupt police force;

(*iii*) an efficient judicial system, strong in personnel, who are secure from arbitrary interference by the executive and are secure in the tenure of their office so long as they do their duty.

V. The fundamental purpose of a government stated in I,

implies that Government must follow definite principles in;

(*a*) the collection of revenue from its subjects ;

(*b*) the expenditure of revenue so collected.

VI. *Revenue.*—Taxation should be

(*i*) as light as possible ;

(*ii*) easy of collection, otherwise the annoyance caused to the Taxpayer is out of proportion to the benefit to the State ;

(*iii*) certain—*i.e.*, the Taxpayer should be able to forecast his liability ;

(*iv*) proportionate to the means of the Taxpayer to pay.

VII. *Expenditure.*—From this it follows that the proportion of revenue allotted to the personal expenditure of the Ruler should be as moderate as will suffice to maintain his position and dignity, in order that as large a proportion as possible may be available for the development of the life of the community and its individual citizens. The civil list of an enlightened modern Ruler is normally fixed at either a definite sum or a definite percentage of the total income of the State.

VIII. Under the general head of development fall :

The creation and maintenance of Roads and Communications, Education, Health and other social services, Agriculture, Housing, etc.

The devolution of many such subjects to local bodies makes for good Government.

IX. Government must be, by the nature of its task, responsible, not irresponsible, in character.

In democracy, it is responsibility to a wide electorate, but where this visible responsibility does not exist (as, *e.g.*, in autocracy), its inherent responsibility to its own purpose as

defined in I, remains ; and if it ignores it, it forfeits its normal claim to the obedience of its subjects.

X. Every Government should have some machinery by which it can inform itself of the needs and desires of its subjects, and by which these can make their voices heard.

This machinery need not be strictly representative (or elective) in character, but its essential requisite is that it should maintain a close connection between Government and the governed.

XI. There are other matters, such as religious toleration, the encouragement of mutual confidence and harmony between employers and employed, in which Government may not be able to make effective use of law, but in which it is none the less bound to direct its influence towards the preservation of friendly and neighbourly relations between the different component parts of the single unity of the State.

XII. Perhaps the principal necessity for a personal Ruler is that he should be able to choose wise counsellors and, having chosen them, that he should trust them and encourage them to tell him the truth, whether or not this is always palatable.

There is much wisdom in the words of Bacon :

" Think it more Honour to direct in Chief, than to be busy in all.

Embrace and invite Helps, and Advices, touching the Execution of any place ; and do not drive away such, as bring the information, as Medlers ; but accept them in good part."

Sir Walter Lawrence may maintain that the subjects of Indian States have a happy lot. Sir Walter Lawrence may provide an argument for Mr. Nicholson to base a weak plea for the Princes, but reading between the lines of Lord Irwin's note to the Princes there can be no doubt whatsoever, if there was any doubt, that the States generally constitute an anomaly and further that in fact there is a great difference between the theory and ideals of kingship as enunciated by the Maharaja of Bikaner, and the practice of which the Political Department is aware.

CHAPTER IV

Virgins Preferred

No study on the subject of the Princes is complete without some reference to their lives, their education, their relationship with the sexes, landmarks in their career, tours in Europe, *shikar* and other aspects of a Prince's pomp, his might and his prestige. Well has it been said that '*regis ad exemplar totus compositor orbes*' for 'the whole community is ordered by the King's example.'

No two individuals are absolutely alike, nor will you find two Princes alike. Important traits of character vary with individuals. There is the Ruler of Mysore, who has never been outside India and yet maintains an efficient and progressive administration; there is a Maharaja who spends four months in the year in India, out of which a month consists of Christmas at Calcutta and maintains a medieval administration; there is a Maharaja who spends four times as much annually on new cars as he does on the education of his people; there is a Prince who will not consider an application without a photograph; there are Princes who penalise child marriage, there are some who force their daughters of seven; there is a Prince who killed his wife because she refused to yield herself to her brother in his presence; there are a few Princes who are monogamous, there are scores who are polygamous; one Prince maintains his father's wives in comfort, there is another who sold his three hundred step-mothers for thirty rupees a piece; one Prince's pleasures have resulted in two pretty film stars, several Princes' pleasures result in nothing better than a miscarriage; some tax marriages and deaths, there are others who enforce the *jus primi noctu,* some are homosexuals, a few are moral and mental perverts. Very few pass any examinations of any kind. Though their lives are intertwined with the destinies of several millions of the human race, few can either boast to the qualifications or the character that entitles a man to assume the functions of kingship.

2

The Ruler need not be in the direct male line of the late ruler. He may be an adopted son, he may be a collateral. He need not necessarily be legitimate. But he must be recognised by the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. This is an attribute of the Paramountcy.

From the time the heir-apparent is born, the Political Department takes a been interest in him. If the Ruler has had difficulty in establishing parenthood, the interest may be earlier. A close watch is maintained on the lady who reports to be fertilising the princely seed and a note is made of the time when she was last in the Prince's arms. What if the little brat be not so royal as he seems, or what if worse—that he is merely bootleg !

Once born and paternity established, the heir-apparent has a remarkable childhood. If the nurse who has helped to drag the little youngster into the limelight sees no immediate danger of being violated by the gallants around the palace, she may consent to stay. If she does, she sees that Glaxo builds a bonnie Prince. But she does not usually stay for long. The Ranis see to it that she goes,—for a white face is a peril. With the exit of the nurse the heir, presumptive or apparent, goes into the arms of a plain but affectionate maid-servant. No Rani would dream of entrusting the future Ruler to a good-looking maid—for few good-looking maids escape the attention of the Prince and once a woman finds herself elevated to the position of a royal concubine, it is not unusual for her to try her hand at putting the heir-apparent out of the way, to be replaced by a newer edition of her own making.

3

A Prince therefore starts life with two obstacles. In the first place he has not only to be born and recognised but he has to successfully live down his rivals. The mother guards him from covetous eyes and he may live to have his first public airing at the age of three. There is a public holiday, the priests engage the happy father in rituals and sacrifices that prove both auspicious and remunerative to the priestly exchequer, the town is *enfete,* the courts are closed, the schools celebrate a holiday, the small prince seated in a carriage of gold with horses gaily bedecked he proceeds to exhibit his royal person to the admiring

populace. The mother of the Prince is happy, though there is gnashing of teeth in the Zenana among her less successful rivals.

Once introduced to his future subjects, the Prince at once becomes a very important person, a fact, of which, as the years speed by, he is made more and more aware. The servant girls point to the Sun and Moon and show him the steps down the geneological tree, they deck him in colourful tissues and put diamonds into his ears. The children of the State officials come to do him homage—he may sometimes be taught to try his muscles on them. When he goes out of the gates, the sentries salute him, the people bow low and the palace caters to his whims. He sits on his father's knee while the dancing girls compose lyrics of passion in the turns of heir bodies, he watches his father stroke their shimmering black thair kiss their red lips. He sees the courtiers servile, sycophantic, he sees the goblets of wine, he hears the music of the drums, in a hundred ways he learns that life is synonymous with pleasure, the wild riot in wine, women and song.

The road to kingship therefore often lies through the cesspools of vice and abomination. A Maharaja writing in the press recently corroborated these well-known circumstances :

> *The character of the Rajkumars is left to be moulded entirely by the association amidst which they live, and by reason of this they are prevented from growing up to years of discretion healthy, wise, accomplished and capable of contributing to the well-being of those who are connected with them. The pernicious influence of their early surroundings govern their whole conduct and make them prefer pleasure to work. In consequence they take the world easily, living for themselves alone and indulging in dreams of vain glory which make them the laughing stock of the civilized world. ("Princely India," 18th March, 1927.)*

When the young Prince reaches the age of seven or thereabouts, more than one quarter becomes interested in his studies. Apart from the boy's parents, there is the Political Department which must perforce take a close interest in his educational problem. The Department maintains therefore a very careful scrutiny over the education of young Princelings; it sees that they learn the right things and not the wrong. Often European tutors (in consultation with the parents of course) are appointed, these tutors see that the young Prince is taught that the British Empire

is the greatest and most wonderful that the world has ever seen, that the Sun never sets upon the King-Emperor's dominions, that Cricket is the Queen of Games, that Waterloo was won in the playing fields of Eton, that Russia and Japan would divide India between them if the British Army was removed, that India has become prosperous under a wise economic policy, that the Allies waged a righteous war, that India for a hundred years will not be fit for Dominion Status and other equally intelligent propositions. It is absolutely essential that the Prince does not come into contact with any doctrine of a different nature. He must not, for instance, know that his pedigree from the Sun or Moon is a myth, nor need he know that many parts of the world are homes of stark want, it is equally undersirable to teach him that the best people do not waste their time at Cowes or at Ascot. The most important difference in education is not infrequently lost sight of—the difference between a Prince and a gentleman.

4

When Education, under the Reform of 1919, was transferred to Ministers responsible to the Legislature, the education of the Princes was maintained as a reserved subject. Indian Ministers could be trusted to guide the educational progress of 260 millions, but were not considered competent to handle the problems of a few hundred scions of Princely houses. The four Chiefs Colleges are still maintained apart from the general educational system of the country.

There are four such Colleges. The first was founded in 1870 at Rajkot in Kathiawad. This is known as the Rajkumar College, and it provides for the education of Princes and Chiefs of the Bombay Presidency. The second, known as the Mayo College, was established at Ajmer in 1872 for the Chiefs and Sirdars of the Rajputana States. The third is the Daly College, founded in 1881, for the benefit of the Chiefs of Central India ; and the fourth is the Aitchison College, founded at Lahore in 1886 for the Chiefs of the Punjab. The total yearly cost of upkeep of each College amounts to a very high figure, and that of the pupils to a much higher figure. As to what is spent on the education of princes individually may be estimated from figures given in administration reports. The education of the heir-apparent of "Z" cost in 1925-26 Rs. 35,505.

The admission to these colleges is mainly confined to the

sons of ruling Chiefs and their sidelines but others, from Zemindari titled families, are also admitted. When these institutions were started, it was hoped that they would constitute the Etons and Harrows of India. But the absence of a high average of conspicuous intelligence, and the over-emphasis laid on the playing field has not enabled the original objects to materialise. What Lord Curzon hinted at about twenty years ago is perhaps as true to-day :

> "*We desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men who will be in touch with modern progress but not out of touch with old traditions, who will be liberally educated in sympathy with their own families and people, who will be manly, not effeminate; strong-minded but not strong-willed, acknowledging a duty to others instead of a law unto themselves, and will be fit to do something in the world instead of settling down into fops or spendthrifts or drones.*"

At schools, like Eton and Harrow and other European public schools, boys often do well not only in sport but in their studies as well. Gruelling examinations are passed and scholarships won into the Universities. The boys of the Chiefs Colleges get their diplomas, their medals and their mead of congratulations, but do not have to pass any of the more advanced examinations of any of the Universities. Those who do gain admission to the ordinary Arts Colleges rarely go far, except to set the fashion in ties or the vogue in flannels. Referring to the education of young Princes at these schools (*Princely India*, 27th May, 1927) was constrained to remark :

> "*But the present system of training the young Princes obtaining now in these schools and Colleges is hardly calculated to fuse into or inspire in the royal children a sense of manly virtues such as patriotism, nobility, fraternity and self-respect, apart from making them capable administrators. From the results so far seen it is universally admitted that the education imparted in the Colleges to the Rajkumars in India does stunt the growth of a free and full manhood in them.*"

At all times the influence round and about the palace is sinister. The Prince is surrounded by a retinue of courtiers and parasites—possibly a religious tutor, an A.D.C., or a guardian.

These men take the fullest advantage of his approach to puberty. By providing the wants for the early stirrings of manhood they gain influence and power over the mind of the Prince. According to the testimony of a Maharaja himself :

> "*We have particularly to guard against evil influences that come with maturity. There is always a class of persons ready to get in touch with a young Prince and spoil him. They are eager to ingratiate themselves with the Prince and they would not stop short of anything. I do not want to be more explicit, but the danger that threatens is in connection with girls.*" ("*Princely India,*" *18th March, 1927.*)

Col. Powell cites a specific example from a major State :

> "*An acute politico-domestic crisis had arisen in the royal family of. . . . a few days before our arrival, it having been precipitated by the arbitrary action of the British Resident. Concerned for the physical and moral well-being of the young Maharaja, then twelve years old, the representative of the Raj had given orders that the boy, accompanied only by his mother, the senior Maharani and a small suite, should be removed from the palace in. . . . to the citadel and there remain under the supervision of European and Indian tutors until he was old enough to enter one of the colleges which have been established by the Indian Government for the education of Princes. This drastic step had been made imperative, I was informed, by the intolerable conditions prevailing in the palace, where the youthful Ruler was surrounded by hundreds of women-folk and servants. One always hears various versions of such affairs, but, from all I could gather, a palace clique, headed by the younger of the two widows left by the late Maharaja bitterly jealous of the influence exerted by the senior Maharani, had deliberately set out to debauch the Ruler.*" ("*Last Home of Mystery,*" p. 272.)

Puberty is one of the most important phases of the life cycle. It makes a milestone in man's development. It is the period of sexual maturity. To the requirements of food, shelter, play, and other prerequisites of childhood, a new desire is added, as strong and stronger than hunger. Food is no more the sole concern of the body. Mate hunger is awakened. It demands fulfilments. The sexual cycle has begun its most active course. It is a period of the highest tension. The human body and the

human soul seek new avenues of expression. The child has grown to manhood.

Sexual development according to one authority starts with fecundation. It does not cease after birth. The sexual desire of the child may be latent, masked and vague, but sex does not retire from the field. It grows with the rest of the body. Especially the second half of childhood between the ages of seven and fourteen, is marked by rapid development. Puberty, then, is the crest of a gradual ascent. The slow, steady, almost imperceptible process of sexual development is precipitated and becomes intensified.

Puberty makes its appearance at the age of thirteen or fourteen. It lasts up to sixteen and seventeen. It is followed by a period of adolescence extending into the twenty-second year of life. Race and climate may shift the dates. Early maturity is at once the privilege and the curse of Eastern nations. During maturation, all functions of the body are enhanced. All vital organs are in a state of increased tension. As psycho-analyists tell us, the adrenals, or that portion whose influence on the sympathetic nervous system is paramount, pour their secretion at an increased rate into the circulation. In consequence, we have over-stimulation of the vagetative nervous system with over-emphasis on such states as fear, rage, excitement and unbalancement. A combination of factors unite to throw the maturing individual out of gear. In consequence, there is maladjustment and unsettlement. There is an overflow of vitality, over-emphasis of potentialities and undere-stimation of realities.

At this very important phase of life many princes are secluded even from their fellows. They live with their tutors, who teach them table manners but forget that seclusion at night for a boy who has just attained to puberty is among the worst things that can happen to him. It is unnecessary to mention the evils that take hold—very often persisting through life. At this stage the fauning serpent may appear and in the guise of a friend and confident lead the Prince over the by-ways from which few ever emerge unpolluted. Says the Maharaja previously referred to :

> " *Abuse of physical strength is certainly not one of the ways of begetting a good son. And yet the first dawn of youth finds a Prince smothered by beautiful girls very considerately thrown on his path by people who desire to advance themselves*

in his estimation. A greater crime before God and man could never be committed ("*Princely India,*" *1st April, 1927.*)

The influence, therefore, on the whole, round the special Schools and Colleges maintained for the sons and relatives of the Princes is far from beneficial. The atmosphere is distinctly anti-Indian. Too much effort is stressed on physical development to the detriment of moral or intellectual development, more emphasis is laid on pride of heredity than on pride of achievement, on self-gratification than on self-sacrifice. Little intelligent effort is made to meet the problems of puberty. Sycophants and darbaris and prospective ministers abound in plenty. The result is the Prince starts life with a distinct handicap, a handicap he seldom overcomes. He starts life with the idea that he is an incomparably fine fellow, a scion of a stellar dynasty and called upon by Divinity to rule some thousands of subjects ; he has frequently a contempt for learning, and a passion for self-indulgence. In his eyes the kingdom, over which he is to rule, is his private property, its people are his slaves ; he believes he is the divine regent or more accurately a counterpart of the divinity itself. He loathes any notion of popular rights, he hates the people who work for the commonwealth, to him agitation against popular grievances is sedition and revolution. The influences or the courtiers have perhaps already made of him a sexual pervert. When he is called upon to assume the crown and sceptre of his office, he is in short a self-opinionated autocrat and " comes to do things as a matter of course, which are shocking even to the lowest of the low among his subjects." (*Ibid*). " The record of the India Office will show how many of these chiefs educated at these colleges, have had to be deposed or deprived of their powers (*Indian Princes under British Protection,* p. 47) for although natural ability is often absent in the Prince, at least half the blame for his evolution as tyrant and oppressor must be laid at the door of the British Indian Government." (*Ibid*, p. 13.)

5

There is a State that lies on the bank of one of the great rivers of India, six miles to the east of a railway junction. It has a population of about 300,000, according to the last census, and a revenue of roughly 30 lakhs. It spends a lakh and a quarter on Education, which includes " proper arrangements for the training of Princes and Princesses" and Rs. 80,000 on Public Health. The normal expenditure is about thirty lakhs. In the year 1928,

however, the expenditure exceeded thirty-five lakhs. We are not here concerned how the normal thirty lakhs are spent—we have no reason to suppose that the State which for the purposes of this book we will call "X," is very extraordinary. The next few pages relate to the red letter days, such as may come and go, in any State, days when the revenues are surpassed by the expenditure. *Four* red letter days of "X" in 1928 absorbed six lakhs. And this is how the money went :

" *A commodious and picturesque amphitheatre was erected for the installation with sufficient sitting accommodation and a vast open space in front, where a lakh of people could stand and witness this historic function. In the centre of the pandal was the installation dais beautifully erected which displayed rare architectural skill. On this was the ancient ivory-made throne reputed for its beauty. The guests were seated on chairs in a semi-circular gallery on the right and left of the dais.*

" *As the day dawned the darbaris in black with saffron* pagrees, *began to take their respective seats in sparkling sunshine, and within a few minutes the whole pandal was crowded. At 8-30 Subedar-Major B. M. entered the pandal ground with the infantry, the military band playing a welcome tune. Then came a large number of ladies and gentlemen both European and Indian. The galleries on the left also were soon crowded with tributary Chiefs and hill Sardars. Their fantastic hilly costumes, powerful demeanour, heavy footsteps and iron constitution excited the admiration of all.*

" *Exactly at 9-20 a.m. His Highness entered the pandal in a procession, and as soon as His Highness emerged from the bejewelled 'Chaturdula' in an imposing figure of health and beauty, he was greeted with deafening cheers. The whole assembly stood in reverence and cries of* Maharaja-ki-jai *rent the sky. The military band struck up the national anthem and guns were fired from the State fort. His Highness was then greeted by high officials of the State.*

" *After this 6 Muslim chobdars in stentorian voices proclaimed the arrival of His Highness. From the gate, His Highness entered the pandal in a procession, the Maharaja Bahadur with a golden umbrella held over him by liveried chaprasis followed* by *A.D.Cs. and Murchaldharis, bodyguards and chobdars.*

"Amidst the chanting of Vedic Hymns and invoking of divine blessings the Maharaja Bahadur ascended the dais. His Highness first offered floral offerings at the feet of Lakshmi Narayanji, placed on a separate seat just to the right of the throne. The Maharaja Bahadur then offered flowers and leaves to the throne and walked around the throne seven times in the company of Brahmins. He then bowed down before his family deity and took his seat on the throne. Thus seated on the throne His Highness took garland and chandan and assumed the Rajtika on his forehead. The religious ceremony of the installation thus finished. His Highness bowed before the deity and then alighted from the dais and walked towards the gate, a procession being formed in the same order as before. His Highness then got upon the Chaturdula and was carried to the palace in procession.

"The illumination that commenced from 6-30 p.m. transformed the Capital at once a fairy-land. The palace, the surrounding buildings, the different streets were illuminated with multi-coloured electric lights. The groves and trees with a chain of lights added a new charm to the scene. It was a veritable feast of lights at once brilliant and beautiful.

"Greater still were the arrangements for amusements in which every individual might take part free of charge. There were theatricals, Jatra and Bioscope shows and artistic dances and the entertaimments both from the point of variety and quality left no room for improvement. A joyous people forgot for the time being worldly cares and anxiety and gave themselves up unreservedly to merry-making.

"The day following the installation ceremony witnessed a procession which surpassed all others in grandeur and picturesqueness. The procession which consisted of 98 decorated elephants came out of the Kunjaban at 10 a.m. The Police Superintendent clad in military costume led the procession on horseback. In the first rank were five beautifully decorated elephants carrying on their back various National tokens. They were followed by 65 more decorated elephants walking majestically one after another bearing the State flag. Then followed three elephants caparisoned with valuable jewels and golden embroideries bearing on their back beautiful Howdas on which were seated the dignitaries. Following the Maharajkumars in succession were a band party, twenty

beautifully decorated horses, 100 policemem and 50 boy-scouts, the military band party and a State battalion consisting of 100 soldiers. The soldiers who were with their arms were followed by six Muslim chobdars proclaiming the arrival of His Highness who had 12 chobdars and 6 bodyguards as attendants. His Highness was followed by his Aides-de-Camp. His Highness' Chaturdula was followed by the ryots.

" Just after the Chaturdula were other Aides-de-Camp seated on gorgeous elephants specially decorated for the purpose. Then came on foot 6 bodyguards and 12 chobdars who were followed by musicians singing divine songs. Their peculiar white dress with yellow turban evoked universal admiration and added to the solemnity of the gorgeous procession. Then walked 100 soldiers and 100 constables and police officers in full military array.

" Then there were varieties of band parties which were followed by groups of hill tribes all clad in their clannish dresses, walking under the leadership of their respective chiefs. Their sinewy muscles, half covered by fashionable dresses breathing an atmosphere of independence and chivalry extorted the admiration of all who were lucky enough to witness the procession. It is not often that one comes across such a variety of hill tribes in their peculiar national costumes. The whole procession thus composed of a variety of striking people and groups, was followed at its rear by 20 motor cars and 3 State carriages carrying high officials. The procession which was two miles long took several hours to reach the palace. As it wended its slow course it was greeted by enthusiastic crowds singing glory to His Highness. Ladies from the house-tops joined in the general chorus by their Ulu."

These festivities constituted merely the "native" half. There was the actual installation by the representative of the Paramount Power, the Durbar for the purpose, the wise and solemn words calling attention to the great responsibilities of Princely office, the equally solemn promises to do well by his subjects, to govern according to law and civilization, gratitude to the officers and tutors who had helped to construct the princely genius and prayers to the Almighty to bless the State and bring prosperity to the revenues. As Lord Curzon has recorded, the *bandobast* on such occasions, is " magnificent " forming a " sumptuous background

to ropes of emerald rubies and pearls." After the Viceroy or his emissary has delivered " a speech or allocution of friendly advice and encouragement " and the young man has "duly responded" " the remainder of the visit is devoted to banquets, entertainments and visits to institutions and very likely, if opportunity offers, to *Shikar*." *(Leaves from a Viceroy's Diary.)*

6

Whatever is true of " X " is true of nearly every State. Similar red letter days occur whenever a new Ruler ascends the *gadi*, receives a visit from the Viceroy, celebrates his marriage or the birth of legitimate son. " X " is referred to merely as an example—the fashion is to celebrate such occasions with pomp and pageant and only cranks and kill-joys think seriously of the budget. What if the cost of pyrotechnics exceeds the cost of public health, what if the State elephants cost as much as the public education, what if the illuminations, banquets, wine and song over three, four or five days could feed and clothe 50,000 State subjects—for a whole year? It is not the fault of " X " or any other individual State or Ruler. It is the mode of the middle ages —the relics of barbarism. Says the wise Maharaja :

> " *I only refer to marriages, festivals, funerals, anniversaries and birthdays just to draw attention to the direction in which retrenchment can be effected. I do want the King as an institution to be reared up. I do not have any faith in miserliness. Because the Christians have a very inexpensive way of getting themselves married or buried, we need not imitate them. But we must move with the times. When poverty is beating on all sides, there is no meaning in throwing away thousands in smoke and merriment ; spend hundreds. By all means encourage music in girl schools, and have an academy where you can invite renowned artists now and then. But do not try to justify the expenditure of a lakh of rupees on singing and nautch as your contribution to the maintenance of oriental music. It is nothing of the kind. Because you take gold in both your hands and fling it, it does not by any means follow that you are a patron of art ; you may be, on the other hand, encouraging a vice.*" *(Princely India,* 25th March, 1927.)

Installations and accessions, we have noted, are not the only red letter days. The marriages of the Prince, the marriages of any of his sons or daughters, the visits of the Viceroy, the visits

of the Agent to the Governor-General, the visits of foreign celebrities are landmarks in the history of any State. Without any of these occasions the revenues may provide for a fifty per cent palace expenditure. Nothing brings the reckless extravagance of the Princes so much to the forefront as (these functions). It is an illustration of the ease with which State revenues are normally diverted from their legitimate channels for the private use of the Prince." (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 18.) On such occasions the cost of hospitality is devastating. But it is freely given and readily accepted. Special appropriations require special sources of taxation and the highways and byways are explored. A patient populace meets in silence the demands of despotism and the tolls of pomp.

7

The late Lord Rawlinson referred to the stupidity of this twentieth century medievalism in scathing terms :

> "*I have come to the conclusion that it is one of the most uneconomic in the world to-day. In general methods and in details it is out of date. The state and display which the Moghuls introduced in India on a lavish scale two hundred and odd years ago, still surrounds the Viceroy, the Governors of Provinces and the Indian States. Large sums are spent annually all over India upon regal splendour in the form of bodyguards, red chaprasis, entertainments, huge palaces, etc., which, whatever effect they might have had upon India of the past, do not impress the politically-minded India to-day. I ask myself whether there is any real need to maintain all these relics of past grandeur.*" (Vide *Life* by Sir Frederic Maurice)

The Government of India, if it chose, could put a substantial end to unnecessary waste. Government of India Departments still use the national economy labels on inter-departmental correspondence, but what is saved on envelopes goes towards the Viceroy's House in Delhi, the Mandi Scheme and the Back Bay Scandal. As to the vast palace constructed for the Viceroy at a cost of more than two crores, Lord Rawlinson wrote : "When I pass the huge palace which is being built for the Viceroy, I am tempted to curse and swear." The fact is that there is a considerable element in the Government of India that believes India cannot be governed except with the extravagant display of pomp

and pageant.

Take the visit of the Viceroy to the States. Once at least during his term of office the Viceroy endeavours to visit the capitals of his Salute feudatories. Sometimes the visits are more frequent. The visits, one should have supposed, would be for the purpose of getting first-hand information as to the conditions prevailing and the progress made. But " Viceroys and Governors, when they visit Indian States, do not generally seem to be alive to the fundamental objects of such visits. They hardly take advantage of the opportunities thus presented to them to study the real conditions of their subjects. The people are naturally led to suppose that they are making these visits to enjoy a holiday after days of strenuous work in their capital ; for their programmes consist only of garden parties, dinners, *shikar,* etc., and no other serious engagements. Their post-prandial speeches are resplendent with pious platitudes eulogy and admiration for the hosts, who tyrannise their subjects in all conceivable methods. The representatives of the Paramount Power are lured away by the regal pomp and splendour of the arrangements set up for their reception. Everything presented before them is thus calculated to misrepresent the actual state of affairs." *(Princely India,* 27th May, 1928.)

8

Miss Yvonne Fitzroy, in her famous book, a remarkable record of Viceregal tours, bears out the general veracity of this opinion. " The Princes," says Miss Yvonne Fitzroy, " have shed nothing of their magnificence since the days of Haroun-al-Rashid." (*Courts and Camps in India*, p. 155.)

The *bandobast* on such occasions is superb and no money or pains spared. Says Miss Fitzroy :

> " *A wonderful scene at the station and the Maharaja superb in a tiara and a breastplate of emeralds. A guard of honour in a maroon uniform with cream coloured facings, an enormous silver state coach for the Viceroy, a blue and silver state coach for Lady Reading, Rolls-Royces for the vulgar throng. As to the Maharaja's staff they were gorgeous beyond description.*
>
> "*Their Excellencies drove off with an escort of Lancers.*

and we persued them down the road in cars like battlesnips. We pursued them from some two miles until, by way of a eucalyptus avenue, we arrived at the palace. The palace would make Versailles look like a cottage, at least at this distance I feel it would. It is just the biggest thing in houses I have ever imagined, and all built of carved pink sand-stone. The bathrooms alone are like ballrooms and the baths extremely temperamental. In an arrogant moment I offered to control one, but only succeeded in producing on unrehearsed " monsoon " effect during which I narrowly escaped a watery grave. There is a swimming bath—no, two—and there are grass tennis courts and a big garden." (*Ibid*, pp. 154-5.)

Miss Fitzroy gives elaborate details of the durbars at which Viceroy is introduced to the administration :

"*Once installed, there followed, as in all Native States, the ceremony of the* Mizaj Pursi, *when, with due solemnity, His Highness's Staff waits on His Excellency's Staff in order to inquire after the health of the Viceroy. Is he rested after the fatigues of his journey? is he comfortable? and is he ready to receive the formal visit of his host? The reports being satisfactory, the Maharaja arrives, the Viceroy advancing to a fixed spot on the gold carpet to meet him, but not a step beyond. Indeed, the number of paces, and the exact spot on the carpet to which he is to advance, is ordained by strict regulation, and in consideration of the importance of the Prince received, only the most important achieving the carpet's edge. The Viceroy and the Prince then take their seats side by side on two golden chairs. After a few minutes' conversation the Maharaja asks the Viceroy's permission to present his Staff, and each member in turn advances, holding a gold* mohur *which His Excellency touches as a token that the tribute is accepted. The presentations over, servants in scarlet and gold enter bearing gold trays, on which repose tall vials of* Itr *—a very pungent scent—and a neat pile of* Pan, *covered in gold leaf.* Pan *is a concoction of betelnut and spices folded in an aromatic leaf and though it is dear indeed to the Indian heart, I found it a difficult taste to acquire. The Viceroy himself presents the* Itr *and* Pan *to the Maharaja and hangs golden* Har *round his neck, whilst lesser dignitaries do as much for the Staff.*

"*An hour later the Viceroy pays a return visit to the Maha-*

raja at his Palace, and his staff are in their turn freely anointed with Itr—*to their intense and lasting dismay. But the ceremony is one of great dignity, and of a grave and ordered courtesy wholly Eastern."* (*Ibid*, pp. 75-9.)

" *Please to imagine the Viceroy and His Highness to have taken their seats, the great hall aglow with colour, the throbbing of the Indian drum, and the nasal, but not unbeautiful, voice of a singing girl alone breaking the stillness. Then at a signal advancing, rank upon rank, an army of perfectly drilled retainers, dressed in dark blue velvet and gold and bearing golden trays of jewels, of pearls, of diamonds, of emeralds; trays of silks and of cloth-of gold. At the gates of the Palace stand six elephants and six horses in all their State trappings, necklaces of gold* mohurs *round their necks, anklets of gold and jewels, and draperies of velvet, silk and gold; these, too, form part of the Durbar's offerings to the Viceroy. The trays are laid at his feet, the servants retire, and with a gesture His Excellency conveys to the assembled company that he gratefully accepts the spirit of the gift—only. With the same stately ceremonial the trays are removed, and then the Sardars and Chiefs are in turn presented.* Itr *and* Pan *is brought in, a great golden garland is hung round the Viceroy's neck by his host, and the Durbar is over."* (*Ibid*, p. 93.)

A typical programme arranged for a Viceregal visit may be cited the one planned for Lord Irwin in Mysore recently :

" *His Excellency will arrive at Mysore by special train at 8 a.m. Friday, the 29th instant, and will be received by His Highness the Maharaja and State Officials. His Excellency will proceed to Government House in procession escorted by all the State and Imperial Forces. At 10 a.m. there will be* Mizaj Pursi, *and half an hour later His Highness the Maharaja will pay a visit to the Viceroy and His Excellency will return the visit at 11-15. There will be a quiet lunch at the Government House at 1-30. At 3-40 in the afternoon His Highness the Chancellor will proceed to Government House and with His Excellency arrive in State at the Convocation Hall, where the Viceroy will be conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.*

" *At 4-30 p.m. Her Highness the Maharani, C. I., will pay a visit to Her Excellency Lady Irwin at Government House,*

which will be returned by Her Excellency at the Palace at 5-15.

" His Excellency will be present at Tennis in the Ghamundi Gymkhana, and from there will proceed to the top of the Ghamundi Hills, returning to Government House at 8-15 in the night. There will be a music party at the Palace at 9-15 at which Their Excellencies will be present.

" At 9-15 on the following day the distinguished visitors will leave for Krishnaraja Sagara Dam, where they will stay for 45 minutes and from there proceed to the historical place of Seringapatam. The tombs of Hyder and Tippu, Gumbaz and other places of interest will be visited in and near Seringapatam, including the suspension bridge and the Daria, Daulat Bagh, and arrive at 1-15 p.m. at the Scott's Gardens. After lunch at the gardens the party will return to Mysore at 3 o'clock. His Excellency will be present on the tennis grounds towards the evening and at 8-15 there will be a State Banquet at Government House.

" His Excellency will attend holy service on Sunday at the St. Bartholomew Church at 8 a.m. and will later visit the Palace Stables, the Zoo Gardens, the Art Gallery in the Jaganmohan Palace, the State Armoury, Krishnarajendra Hospital, and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute."

Mr. William Gerhaldi, the well-known writer, who last winter travelled through India, with the Maharani of Cooch-Behar gives the following description on the *Shikar* arranged for Lord Irwin on a visit to Mysore:

" I had scarcely reached the Maharani's Calcutta palace before we all started off to the State of Mysore--two days and nights in the train.

" The Viceroy and Lady Irwin and the Commander-in-Chief had just arrived to watch the wild elephant catching, as well as several Maharajas with their retinues, and the capital of Mysore looked festive.

" A model camp, to accommodate no fewer than ten thousand people, and looking like a small city of canvas by night, had sprung up in the midst of thick jungle.

"From across the River Kapani came the tapping sound and distant yelling of the beaters rounding up a herd of wild elephants to drive them across the river into a large and cunningly concealed enclosure.

"But the elephants, unconscious of the feelings of the Maharaja, who had provided this rare and costly spectacle to entertain his august visitor the Viceroy, broke loose time after time."

9

According to Miss Fitzroy "Tigers are a necessary part of every Viceroy's experience" and "on each occasion it is of course a matter of great moment to the host that the Viceroy should get his tiger, and in so far as it is possible, the uncertainties of the jungle are defied." "Important shoots require weeks of preparation," and are "marvels of organisation." (*Courts and Camps in India*, pp. 104-105.)

Where there is nothing so big as a tiger to shoot or an elephant to trap, there may be birds. On such occasions, the "shooting is reduced to a slaughter." (*Ibid.*) Thus at Bikaner Miss Fitzroy records :

> *"They had two great shoots, one on the 30th, one on the 31st, and a total yield of over four thousand birds."* (*Ibid*, p. 123.)

During red letter days the whole administration may be suspended. "The heads of all departments and the members of their staff, high and low, are engaged in preparations for the great day. Courts of Justice are closed and schools, buildings and business offices are cleared for the housing of the guests. Batches of officials are sent round the States with invitations for chiefs and prominent men. Then comes the actual event and with it the real Bacchanalia—feasts and entertainments, casks of wine by the hundred, swarms of dancing girls and singing girls and rejoicing and revelry for days and nights on end." (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 20.)

Red letter days cost considerable sums of money. The late Maharaja of Bharatpur informed the writer that a Viceregal visit of two days cost his State two lacs of rupees. It is not often a

small State can support a Viceregal visit more than once in every four or five years. A Viceroy not long ago was making a walking tour in the Hills. A week's fishing in the territories of one of the States was planned. The Chief Minister came hurriedly to Simla to request the Political Department to curtail the visit to three days, as the State finances had not yet recovered from the previous Viceregal visit two years ago. The visit was cut down to three days. The twenty odd fish caught by the Viceregal party cost the State twelve thousand rupees!

Viceregal visits are, however, not as frequent as visits of Political Agents and Assistant Political Agents. All of these occasions are occasions for banqueting, for popping bottles of *fiz*, and for *shikar*. Now and again distinguished foreigners with their retinues tour the country and return to write magnificent accounts of State hospitality. The specials hurtle along, splendid examples of comfort in travel. Ducks, partridges, tigers, leopards, peaches for the bachelors, limousines for the fair is the hospitality expected and the hospitality dispensed.

10

A man's life is more beautiful than the dream in marble, that was conceived in the love of a Moghul Emperor. The Taj took twenty thousand men twenty years to build. But Man is God's masterpiece, and more beautiful than the Taj. But man takes much the same time to reach the fullness of the glory of his creation. Life is built like any vast structure (in the language of Fosdick), on the principle of balanced thrusts. Every new arch must be braced to a new foundation. Lifting the altitude or spreading the expanse of the marble domes requires stronger walls and sturdier buttresses. Each outthrust calls for an inthrust. And here life often fails; achieving new powers, enlarging our opportunities, gaining fresh wisdom, we forget that unless we correspondingly strengthen our moral and spiritual foundations, the whole superstructure will crash upon our heads as did the Hall of the Phillistines when Samson broke the pillars.

Life to-day flourishes in one of the most astounding generations in history. To an Indian Prince is entrusted the destinies, the life and death, the prosperity and necessities of important sections of the human race. He lives at a time when a shaken civilization is striving desperately to get upon its feet, when there are great enterprises to serve, when there are mighty forces of

science ever ready to help, when the whole world is striving for the higher and better things in life. And yet the majority of these men, living in these times, with untold opportunities, fabulous resources, live the lives of gilded dolls attractive, artificial, stuffed with sawdust. They represent in an extreme from one of the commonest sources of failure—the crowding out of things that really count by the thing that do not matter. They are absorbingly busy with the tinsels and the trivialities of life—the pomp, the show, the joys of easy living, and easy money. They miss the primary duty and privilege of life—putting the things that matter first. Character matters, duty matters. But these often come last.

In the old days when a Prince lost his character and forgot his duty, he usually lost his head. To-day thanks to the tolerance and kindness of benevolent John Bull, hundreds of Princes ruling over millions of the human race go through life decrepit in body and deserters from the ranks of duty. As the public statement of the Indian State Peoples to the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler shows :

> "*When misrule becomes quite intolerable and people are goaded by desperation to the verge of rebellion, the Paramount Power has interfered. Is it not, therefore, absolutely necessary to change this policy and to adopt a vigilant and watchful policy to secure good government to the people so long as they are enjoying the protection of the Paramount Power ; that their sufferings should not be aggravated and should not be required to reach particular intensity before their wrongs could be redressed ? Such a treatment is thoroughly unjust and does not redound to the credit of the Paramount Power.*"

Earlier in this chapter we referred to some of the circumstances and environments of a Prince's childhood. We have also seen him duly installed upon the *gadi* a red letter day in his life. We referred to other scarlet days, the visit of the Viceroy or the Agent to the Governor-General, the marriages that bring the fairest of the fair. This chapter will now conclude with certain other aspects of a Potentate's life—his work, his vacations, the joys of matrimony and the thrills of concubinage.

> "*It is wonderful how the lightest football of a Prince is known and talked about, and how rapidly it spreads. In his own interest, as well as in the interest of those near and dear*

to him, a Prince ought to be a good husband. There are always a class of persons eager to rouse his worst passions, temptations that would shake on his path. Beauty dances in all nakedness before him at a time when the blood of youth is warm and strong. I have heard it said that it is impossible for a Prince to be a good husband."

Whatever is now set down as elsewhere in these pages is true, nothing has been admitted to these pages of which there is the slightest doubt. The object is not to detail the ways, the manners, the conduct of *every* Prince. There *are* some, there *may be* several to whom the facts and comments in this chapter cannot and do not apply, those who lead lives, if not unimpeachable—who is ?—are well above the average, who have the welfare of their subjects at heart, who cheerfully accept and loyally perform the duties of kingship—as trustees of the revenues, guardian of the liberties, and the custodians of the sovereignty of their people. But to every one of the right sort, however, there are possibly a score of the wrong kind. This is not a fact discovered by the writer of this book, it is fairly notorious. As Alexander Powell records in his chapters on the Indian States :

> " *There can be no denying, however, that the great majority of the Princes live in a fashion which would bring the rulers of far larger European states to the verge of bankruptcy—or revolution. India is by no means as rich as most people suppose ; the Indian people are poor, so it is all the more astonishing that their Princes should have seemingly unlimited cash at their command. (Last Home of Mystery,* p. 86.)

No man of business would dream of entrusting a son of eighteen with the entire administration of his business. The fact that he has attained legal majority does not imply he has attained practical discretion. A shrewd man puts his son through the various departments of his organization, it takes many years for even the most intelligent of young men to grasp the intricacies of a big business, to obtain the requisite practical experience and to gain the perspective and comprehension that make all the difference. What greater business could there be than the administration of a State, with questions of revenue, taxation, public health and works, foreign affairs, currency and finance, investment and return, education and justice, industrial and economic development and a hundred other and diverse important problems, all bearing

upon the welfare and prosperity of the State ? Very few Princes, however, undergo the training that would fit any one of them to look after affairs of State or be entrusted with the destinies of thousands of human beings, or with public revenues. A few days with a Revenue Assistant in British India, a few hours in a Court of Law, a month or two at a regimental mess is generally all the training a Prince has on the practical side of his duties. Training of this kind may be well enough for Princes of the Royal families of Europe. In Europe Royalties are mere public ornaments. The entire administrations are run by efficient civil services and by experienced ministers of state. But in the Indian States the Ruler is the State, his will is the law, his whims are absolute. No wonder, therefore, generally speaking, once on the *gadi* the Prince soon degenerates into a profligate and a tyrant. The aim of the administration degenerates into raising as much money as possible to provide the maximum means for the extravagance and the licentiousness of the Prince. This goes on for years until the State is probably hopelessly in debt, or until something happens to incur the wrath of the Paramount Power. Then the long rope is drawn in : the Prince abdicates rather than face a Commission of Enquiry. He retires to Paris or Mussoorie to spend the rest of his days in the round of pleasures that are still possible " thanks to the magnanimity of the British Government and its high regards for his Princely rights." (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 81)

There may then be appointed a Council of Regency ; there may be financial advisers from British India appointed to take charge until the time has come for another illustrious scion of an illustrious father to succeed to the throne of the stars. Then history completes the cycle. The accumulated balances, the result of a careful husbandry of the finances during the minority are handed over to the new Prince. The flood gates of pleasure are opened, and in a few years the State is again where it was. " It is a sad commentary on the administration of the States, says Mr. Chudgar, " that there is scarcely a State in India in which a despotism has not taken place at least once in three generations." Miss Mayo cites as a particular instance the case of a certain Prince whose minority lasted many years :

> " *During this period the British Resident administered the State, and, for the first time in its history, its revenues went to the service of the people. Good roads and bridges were built, schools were opened, a modern hospital was established*

> *and endowed with a competent staff; order was secured; trade and manufactures were fostered; the Exchequers made solvent, the reserve funds built up, justice was put within the reach of all. And, all the years of this pleasant novelty, the people sighed for the day when their Prince, not only dearly beloved but also ritualistically half-divine in their eyes should come home and rule over them as his fathers had done over their fathers.*
>
> *" The day dawned. The boy took over. The wives and the concubines, the Court officials, the dancing girls and the ambitious relatives at once laid hold on him, plying him with every soft temptation that could dissolve his energy and will-power, sap his manhood and make him easy to control. In three years' time he had ruined the work of the preceding twenty. The treasury reserves were gone. Taxes shot up. Public services went flat."* (*Mother India*, p. 278.)"

A letter from the pen of a well-known Maharani, published in the *Bombay Chronicle* (22nd February, 1927) created a sensation not many years ago. The letter related mainly to the condition of women in the Zenanas of the Princes, but threw light on other matters as well :

> *" God alone knows what has happened to our Indian Princes. When the whole country is being influenced by high ideals and striving to improve itself, so many Princes are taking a downward course. They are neglecting their State affairs. Their people are angry, but what do they care ? The Government is pursuing a policy of non-interference, perhaps they are giving them the long rope so that they may hang themselves."*

When the lips of the dancing girl part in a smile no man—if he be wise—will venture to say what will be the end. It was the lure of his favourite dancing girl's lips that forced the abdication of Tukoji Rao III, former Maharaja of Indore. So it was the dancing girl's maddening smile that drove him into exile, sent him across the earth until he reached sunny California, where he met Nancy Miller. What is true of the ex-Maharaja of Indore is true of scores—it may even be hundreds—of the Princely order. Their lives are knitted in the sinuous bodies of concubines and lit by the laughter of their eyes.

11

Read the Administration Reports, read the special brochures published by individual States, any one will be able to estimate what time and thought a Ruler devotes to the welfare of his subjects. You will find pages devoted to the tours of the Prince abroad, you will find pages on the visit of the Viceroy, or the local *Week*, you will find the names of all the guests who honoured the State with a visit, you will find the Commander-in-Chief inspected the troops or opened a War Memorial, you will find records of the States' War effort, but you will find precious little of value to the subjects of the States, or the welfare of mankind.

Many examples could be cited, but extracts from a recent publication relating to a Central India State will suffice:

" *Size for size Y has a record for staunch and loyal endeavour and for a dignified and proud fealty to the throne which brooks no rivals...........This is so because of the inspiration at the fountain-head of that splendidly faithful little State. The fountain head here referred to is its Prince, Major His Highnese Maharaja, etc.*

" *He is heart and soul a sportsman, a great lover of adventure which can only find expression in* Shikar, *being part and parcel of him.*

" *The most important events which took place during the late Chief's time were the receipt of an adoption* sanad *in 1862, the abolition of all transit dues in the same year, the salt convention of 1879 by which the British Government undertook to pay Rs. 10,000 in lieu of duties formerly levied, the cession of land for the Betwa Canal in 1882 and for the Railway in 1884 (actually opened in 1888), and the conversion of the currency in 1903.*

" *In 1905 the present Maharaja had the honour of being presented to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and the Princess of Wales (Their present Imperial Majesties).*

" *The Maharaja is very popular among his brother Princes and has many distinguished friends among high officials and Europeans. The State has often been honoured by many*

distinguished guests. Their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Reading dined with His Highness in November 1923 and Lord and Lady Hardinge and Lord and Lady Irwin honoured His Highness with their company at lunch in 1917 and 1927, respectively, and Their Excellencies the late Lord Rawlinson and Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, Commander-in-Chief in India, have also been visitors to the State. Sir William Marris and Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governors of the United Provinces, visited (the State) as His Highness' guests. His Highness has also had the pleasure of entertaining His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner, Patiala, Jodhpur, Panna, Dholpur and Jhalawar.

" Educational activities began in the State in 1861 when a High School was founded, but it has to be owned that no remarkable progress was made until the year 1922.

" A remarkable act of public utility, done at the suggestion of the Dewan by the Municipality at the Capital, was the deportation of nearly 3,000 monkeys which were a great nuisance to the public. The Durbar set aside Rs. 1,500 for this purpose.

" One of the Maharaja's most memorable act of munificence was the presentation of a marble life-size statue to New Delhi at a cost of Rs. 65,000.

" It will be for ever true of the sporting Maharaja. ' He did not wait to be asked.' The phrase may be considered epigrammatic by the captious, but the Maharaja's record proves its absolute truth. No stauncher Conservative than he exists in the Chamber of Princes, nor one so convinced that the destinies of India are inviolably linked to those of Great Britain and the British Empire.

" Let us now turn to another side of His Highness's personality. Having shown him for the high-souled patriot he is, it would seem to be a labour of supererogation to so much as state that he is to the very core of him a sportsman.

" There can be very few men who have shot four tigers in one day and also three in one day four times. Another big achievement of his was to shoot sixteen tigers and four bears

in twenty days.

His Highness' complete bag to the date, this was written is :

122 Tigers
70 Panthers
16 Lions
1 Cheetah
15 Bears."

And now some interesting Arithmetic :

" *Annually he very greatly helps the cultivators among his subjects by destroying these pests, which are themselves so dangerous to human beings and so destructive of the cattle and crops of the poor ryots.*

" *If it is admitted that, in order to live, an average full-grown tiger must kill for his food two head of cattle, or deer, per week, the exercise of a very little arithmetic will prove to the reader how many lives of the cattle belonging to his people the Maharaja and his rifle have saved in all these years. Adding to the bill fare of tigers the number of goats which fall, and are eaten every year by panthers, and allowing 200 as His Highness' combined total of tigers and panthers killed, we arrive at the stupendous figure of about 400 head per week of cattle and goats saved by His Highness' love of* Shikar *and his great ability with the rifle."*

There was a time when a Prince could not leave his State without the permission of the Government of India. But since the War things are different. Christmas in Calcutta is one of the great attractions that India holds for the winter fun-maker. Tours in Europe in the summer are invariably popular. Not a few Princes spend a large part of the year in Calcutta for the races, Delhi for the Chamber—otherwise known as the " Princes' Week " —and in tours abroad. There are many reasons why a Prince should spend his summer abroad—but the main is health ! India, according to a writer in the London *Daily Mail*, plays the deuce with one's morals. Of the Princes, India plays the deuce with their health. After a strenuous week in Delhi, a fortnight in their States and a week in a special train, nine months recuperation in Paris or Nice is very necessary indeed. The result is, in the words

of the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, that " a great many of the Princes are not to-be seen in their palaces." He says :

> " *They are to be seen anywhere where enjoyment can be bought with their people's money. You go to London, you go to Paris, you go to all fashionable cities, and you meet some Indian, Rajah or others, dazzling the people of Europe and corrupting those who go near him.*" (Cochin Address).

They arrive in London or Paris accompanied by huge entourages of ministers, secretaries and servants, often with womenfolk by the score, and take whole floors in the most fashionable hotels. They are lavish spenders in the expensive shops along Bond Street and the *Rue de la Paix*. At Windsor King George has for a neighbour the Maharaja of a State but little larger than a district in British India with stables of race-horses and polo ponies, garages filled with motor-cars, an army of retainers. Two or three years ago a Rajah, whose territory is only 800 square miles in area, took an Indian Polo Team to America and himself bore the bulk of the expenses. A Maharaja maintains an establishment near St. Germain which makes the members of the old French nobility who are his neighbours look like paupers, spends the season in Paris—where he gives fetes whose beauty and magnificence astonish the French capital. (See *Last Home of Mystery*, p. 86). Still another, according to the same authority, keeps half-a-dozen racing stables in France alone, a shooting-box in Scotland, an apartment in Paris, and a chateau on the Riviera. One Indian Ruler is said to have lost a million francs in a single evening last year on the gaming table of the International Sporting Club at Monte Carlo. (*Ibid*, p. 87).

When they do not go abroad, they spend their summer in Mussoorie or one of the hill stations where " their hospitality is of the kind that one reads of in the Arabian Nights." (*Princely India*, 31st August, 1928). A popular event at Mussoorie is reported to be trials in virility for which a Prince annually presents a cup. The details of the contest are unmentionable.

Not a few Princes have acquired costly estates in England, and as for the purchase of less costly things such as cars, polo-ponies or white women their number is legion. More than one Prince has Rolls Royce cars by the dozen each costing half a lakh of rupees or more. Indian princes are prospective customers for Derby winners. There is the well-known case of £100,000

offered for one of these horses. But a few have their beds warmed by their pick of the music halls of London and Paris. A case within the writer's own knowledge is that of a comparatively second class Prince who spent £6,000 on women alone in a three weeks' stay in London. He was a connoisseur of the photogravure sections.

What is true of the Prince abroad is true of him at home. Nothing is good enough. Cars with eleven headlights, cars gold-plated and silver-plated, cars which can travel at a hundred miles an hour, cars in which you can do everything you want to a woman, stables at the racing centres and women, why the pick of creation. Tall lythe women of the North with the blue of the hills for eyes and the music of the caravans for bodies; fragile little women of the south with scented curls; girls from Kulu lovely olive tinted and bewitching; women from Kashmir with lips like grapes and hair like serpents. They need not all be Ranis, but they are all a part of the King's life. They make life always worth living. " Gentlemen," says Anita Loos, " prefer blonds but marry brunettes." This was not, however, meant to apply to a Prince's *harem*.

12

The romance of Mumtaz was bruited all the world over. At the age of 12 she was recognised to be an extraordinary good singer, and as such, secured a professional engagement in the court of the ex-Maharaja of Indore, whose mistress she eventually became. The Maharaja placed before her all that wealth could command and she was treated by the Durbar as a Rani, using the name of Kamlabai. As such, she accompanied the Maharaja to Europe, visiting England and France.

After several years with the Maharaja she left Indore in a special train *en route* for Mussoorie, but at Delhi she changed her mind and proceeded to Amritsar, resolving to leave the Maharaja. Amritsar was the home of Mumtaz's family; and her great grand-mother was Rani Mohran of the household of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

From Amritsar Mumtaz left for Bombay, where she met Bawla, a reputed millionaire, whose mistress she remained till he met his tragic fate, so well known. Mr. Bawla willed one lakh of rupees to Mumtaz out of his estate of Rs. 42 lakhs. Mumtaz bore

a daughter to Bawla, named Saadat Begum.

After Bawla's death came Abdul Rahman of Amritsar, whom Mumtaz married refusing a 5 lakh offer from Hollywood. Life with Abdul Rahman did not run smoothly, there was litigation, reconciliation and fresh litigation. Eventually Abdul Rahman also fulfilled the oracles and died.

Such is the thrilling story of wealth, love, law-suits, sorrow and tragedy of Mumtaz Begum. Will it end here ? She has her whole life before her. She is far too beautiful and wealthy a woman to remain uncoveted. The ex-Maharaja is married to an American girl. Abdul Rahman and Bawla are cold in their graves. Will Mumtaz live a life of loneliness and seclusion ? Time alone can say. She has set out for Hollywood—so we are told—and anything may happen in Los Angeles.

The polygamous instinct is inherent in us all. Every sensible person is born with a more or less insistent craving for variety; every right-minded person abhors anything humdrums. That is generally believed to be the foundation of the reason for polygamy. Only in the abstract are we monogamous. Great artists, poets, musicians seldom marry. They are wedded to their art, and remain faithful to it all their lives. That is the true monogamous marriage. And yet art is such a many-sided mistress, that the marriage of a mind with an ideal often becomes a sort of intellectual polygamy. But this is only in parenthesis.

Polygamy is really very paradoxical instinct. We can only countenance it in ourselves and not in the objects of our affection. Solomon, that supreme polygamist, no doubt delighted to revel as he listed the charms of his six hundred odd wives and concubines, but there is no reason to suppose that any of these same wives and concubines were expected, or allowed for that matter, to take delight in anybody but him. And, of course, being a sensible man, he took care to render competition impossible. In the same way the lovers of Catherine the Great were expected to remain faithful to her alone, while she exercised the privilege of plurality.

Polygamy, though universal in instinct, seems to be purely Eastern in application. In early times most of the primitive European races practised it, and it was, and still is, exceedingly popular in Egypt and Africa, and in the Indian States.

It is impossible to say what would be the variety in the *harems* of any individual Prince. This depends on the resources of the State, the idiosyncrasies of the Prince, and the efficiency of procuring agencies.

One of the more enlightened but less important Chiefs confines his wants to three—one of whom a brother's widow is thus chivalrously provided for. In the small hill States the *harems* contain between thirty and forty women. In the more important States the numbers often run into hundreds, sometimes even to a thousand and more. Marie Stopes is unknown and wet nurses are overworked.

In some States officers share their wives with the Prince or Diwan "with a view to securing posts and promotions." But officers generally are expected to help the Prince in procuring women for the palace. In this connection *Princely India* (15th January, 1929), published the experience of a State Official :

> "*All his officers are always engaged in getting women for the Ruler. I was for some time in his service and when it fell on my fate to follow the example of my brother officers which I abhor, I had to quit the palace. I am writing this article with the best of motives to draw the attention of the Political Agent at (. . . .) who may conduct an enquiry into the affairs of the Chief of. . . . . In the meantime I request the Editor of* Princely India, *to publish the true copy of a letter addressed to the Dewan of the State by the Chief himself, which, I am sure, will substantiate my above statement.*

The Palace

....

28th September, 1928.

"*Dear Mr*..................................

> "*I have duly received your letter with an application for leave. Your leave has been granted, but you should try to come back as early as possible. As regards the things mentioned in your letter, please bring both. They must be very very beautiful. I will think you to be a loyal servant if you can bring them to my satisfaction.*"

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Raja Sahib.

Admits a frank Maharaja in the columns of the same journal (1st April, 1927):

> "*How many stories are there about the Princes, which pass from lip to lip. That man is a minister, not because he is capable, but because he brought the Prince a lovely girl.*"

A great deal of light was thrown by a Maharani on the affairs of a Prince's *Zenana* in the famous article in the *Bombay Chronicle*, (22nd February, 1927), already referred to. No description can depict the state of affairs better than this picture at first hand:

"The most trying position, according to the Maharani, is that of an Indian Princess who has a big name and position to uphold and is not only powerless to move a finger, but is as penniless as a beggar in the streets, entirely and solely a victim of the most atrocious insults and tortures heaped on her that would baffle the imagination of any human being."

The Maharani quotes an instance of a Muslim Princess who was asked "to salute the latest addition in the *harem*, a low woman of the street. At this insult the Princess arranged to go away to her own native place. Then came her divorce and her people demanded her *mehar* amounting to several lakhs. The matter was in the hands of the British, and in spite of all efforts made on behalf of the Princess, the case was decided in favour of the Prince, and the Princess died soon after."

The writer appealed to English ladies in high position and Lady Irwin in particular to establish an association called "Lady Irwin's Tribunal of Justice" for ladies of the Rani class which would be an "immediate support to us in our tottering condition and ladies can go straight to it with their grievances, which at present does not exist anywhere."

The Maharani summed up the position of women in a Prince's *Zenana* as: "Even in the wilds of Africa, I am sure, such savagery is not practised as is sometimes practised on us. Our existence is a mere cipher. We are not taught to take interest in anything. We are the toys of our master. He may dress us or tear our clothes away. We are worse situated than the Russian serfs of yesterday. You politically-minded men rejoice when the Nepal Government frees thousands of slaves, and yet you do not

know that side by side with you live your own sisters, whose existence is worse than nightmare."

These are the conditions in the homes of the leading lights of the Chamber of Princes. It is for such enlightened specimens of humanity that Sir Leslie Scott pleaded for "legal criteria." We also know now why it is necessary to have princely linen laundried in London. But even expert *dhobi* like Rushbrook Williams and Nicolson cannot wash out all the "grease spots."

A Rajasthani commenting in the columns of *Princely India*, on these views expressed by the Maharani, spoke from intimate knowledge :

> "*From all accounts it appears equally true of palaces of Rajasthan, that humanity and morality are as rare there as fidelity. If one were to give the world all the informatiom regarding the life of the human birds living in these gilded cages, it is sure to be shocked. So awful is that life, or rather a negation of it.*
>
> "*Four years ago, a refugee who had escaped from royal* Zenana *of an important State in Rajputana stated before a well-known public worker in the presence of several respectable citizens of Ajmer, that the late Maharaja had left over 4,000 widows. She described in harrowing details how many of them had fallen prey to the almost insatiable lust of the Maharaja at tender ages. And not a few of them met deaths by no means natural.*
>
> "*Again a very big feudatory of the same state married about three years back a third wife who was the illegitimate child of an Eastern Rajputana potentate. The morning after the nuptials witnessed a rupture between the couple based on the misgivings of the bridegroom about the supposed virginity of the bride. In less than a year, she was reported to be carrying and the husband's doubts were confirmed. One day the girl was found dead. Foul play being suspected, a state enquiry followed. The Chief has since been divested of his powers.*

In the East it is considered better for a woman to have a share of a husband, than no husband, at all. The West, on the other hand, has come to consider that one woman is about as much

as one man can conveniently cope with. The ancient East, coldly cynical, knew human nature, and catered for it. But surely we can hear someone say, the West knows human nature too. So it does, but it is afraid to admit it. Hence the Divorce Courts.

We have not space to go into the history, but polygamy is as old as man, and it will be a long time before that instinct is quite eradicated. In any case you cannot purge it out of the system with a dose of legal salts. It is not a perfect institution, but, like everything else in this world, it has its points, and it is one that can only be changed by a long, slow process of ethical evolution, assisted by economic pressure. The West has theoretically attained this. Mayfair now only practises polygamy *sub rosa*, but the East has still to reach this happy condition.

Whether it is a first or second or third or fourth marriage, a Prince often soon tires of his choice and bride. "There is no court to which she can appeal, and there are no means of redress whatsoever. Sooner or later the second wife meets the fate of the first, and again the third follows in the footsteps of her predecessors. Quite a number of Princes of First Class States have two, three or several wives, and all of these, except the favourite for the moment, are pining away in darkness and misery. In addition to these lawfully married and much-wronged wives, there are the Prince's mistresses and concubines, chosen from the ranks of low-class dancing and singing girls. Often, indeed, European travels result in further additions to the nuptial board." (*Indian Princes under British Protection*, p. 22.)

13

It is impossible to know everything that goes on behind the high walls of a Prince's *Zenana*. Occasionally, however, a little of the truth filters through. The palace of a Prince deposed not many years ago revealed underground the bones of several women, women who had refused to yield their bodies to the Prince's embrace. It takes an immense amount of moral and physical courage to say 'nay' to these profligates. The woman who says 'no' usually does not live to tell the tale of the horrors that may be practised on her. The usual punishment (according to one for many years a Minister in an important State) to a recalcitrant woman is rape by the staff, but some ingenious punishments are sometimes tried. Cayenne or a red hot poker in the vagina, cutting the breasts or disfiguring the face by removal of the nose.

A married woman may have her child tortured in her presence, or she may die a lingering death of cocaine poisoning.

This book is not concerned with particular individuals either as exceptionally bad or as exceptionally good. It is unnecessary therefore to lay too much emphasis on the cruelty complex of certain Princes either as sadists or as masochists. Sadism and masochism are two phases of the same aberration. Normal love is often compared to golden shackles. An element of sadism is common in the love making of the male, and of masochism in the female. Serfdom and bondage is the aim of masochistic love. He or she cannot conceive of sexual pleasure without being the recipient of pain. Pain is often the spice of sexual life.

A Rajputana journal, recently published, extracts from the correspondence between two Maharajas throwing a flood of light on the hobbies of some members of this exalted class. The purport of the correspondence was that during a visit of one Maharaja to the other the one took a fancy to a handsome *sawar* in the bodyguard of the other. In due course a special train and a Prime Minister arrived to take the handsome *sawar* to his future master who, among other marks of royal favour, promoted him from trooper to Colonel in his army. This sounds a fairy-like tale but it is nevertheless true.

The average man in the East is more a masochist than a sadist. Hot and burning is the stage on which the drama of love—tragedy or comedy, sometimes farce—is ever being played. Read the vast mass of oriental poetry and literature, the Eastern conception of penultimate sexual bliss will appear to be slow death at the hands of a red lipped black haired mistress. Life in the *Zenana* is often a strange mixture of both sadist and masochistic complexes.

We have all different ways of beginning the day. The Englishman begins on bacon and eggs, the German on sausages, the American on grape nuts. His Highness prefers a virgin !

CHAPTER V

"Sweetheart We Need Each Other!"

When the Nizam addressed his historic demand to Lord Reading on the 20th of September, 1925, claiming that the relations of his Government with the Government of India were as "between two Governments that stand on the same plane without any limitation of subordination of one to the other," it created a flutter in political dovecots and a controversy of no small a magnitude. The Nizam was not alone. Many Princes in fact—possibly in all good faith—professed pretentions to sovereignty with concomitant regal honours which were, however, clearly unfounded. They used the language and the trapping of royalty. They referred to their "thrones," their "royal families," their "heir-apparents" and their "Princes of Wales!" The attitude of the Government of India was one of mixed indiffence, best expressed in the case of an assumption of the Tudor Crown on the table linen and crockery of a certain Prince. A certain section of Political Department was perturbed at this encroachment upon the Tudor Crown and sent up a formidable file on the subject. But Viceregal note consisted of two words "drop it." But should such things be dropped? Do they not ultimately lead to more serious issues?

Apart from the tolerance towards the claims and trappings of the Princes, a looseness of expression—in quarters that ought to know better—has often added to the vagaries of the precise nature of their constitutional status, giving rise in turn to considerable confusion on the subject. As late as the 21st February, 1923, Sir Mohammed Shafi, then Law Member of the Government of India, admonished the Council of State that "the Legislature should not interfere in the affairs of a sovereign State," and described the States as "sovereign States under the suzerainty of the British Government." In the proclamation of 19th April, 1875, deposing the Gaekwar of Baroda, the British

Government referred to the "sovereignty of Baroda," Sir Lee Warner in his classic on the Indian States (*Native States of India*, Macmillan, 1910) accepts Sir Henry Maine's proposition that sovereignty is divisible and describes the States as possessing "internal sovereignty." Lord Curzon, generally so precise in his terminology, claimed the Princes as "partners and colleagues" in the administration of the country. Little wonder, therefore, that the Nizam, who considered he had also additional justification by reason of his being recognised as "a faithful ally" presumed himself justified in claiming parity with the Government of India.

Lord Reading realised that any "silence on the subject now might hereafter be interpreted as acquiescence in the propositions," which the Nizam enunciated and felt incumbent "as his Imperial Majesty's representative to remove any misconception entertained by His Exalted Highness." Lord Reading therefore informed the Nizam (27th of March, 1926) :

> "*The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well known and so clearly apply no less to Your Exalted Highness than to other Rulers, that it seems hardly necessary to point them out. I will merely add that the title 'Faithful Ally' which Your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting your government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountcy of the British Crown.*"

Lord Reading's declaration of the supremacy of the British Government meaning the Government of India (the Nizam claimed parity with the Government of India and not with the Government of Great Britain) did not however dispel the fog that admittedly surrounded the constitutional position. Not only was Paramountcy still a matter of controversy, but so was the precise position of the Indian States in the Empire and their relations with the Crown in general. Lord Reading proclaimed the supremacy and the paramountcy of the Government of India. His

Law Member had referred to the States as possessed of " internal sovereignty." The terms were contradictory. What was the precise constitutional position even after the declaration of Lord Reading no one could definitely say. Some fell back to the mixed references to the States as " feudatories " and " semi-sovereign States." Lord Canning had declared that the Crown in 1858 was " brought face to face with its feudatories." Sir Henry Maine, followed by Sir Lee Warner, regarded the " sovereignty " of the States as divided between the British Government and the Chiefs in varying degrees, a state of affairs referred to as part sovereignty." Sir Louis Tupper, however, expressing the broad policy of the Political Department, had advanced the point of view that the States being " feudatory " were " subordinate to the Government of India, and as the Government of India was created by Parliament, the Government of India had full authority over the affairs of the States, whose Rulers were agents or great hereditary officers for the administration of certain sections of the Empire." A similar view-point was also expressed by Dr. T. J. Lawrence who considered that though the States " are sometimes spoken of as independent States, in reality they are not even part sovereign in the sense given to the term in international law for they may not make war or peace or enter into negotiations with any Power except Great Britain." International law really amounts to an agreement between equal and independent nations about their conduct to one another. It is authoritatively stated by the Government of India that the " Principles of international law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen-Empress on the one hand, and the Native States under the suzerainty of Her Majesty. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the other." On these grounds Twiss called them " protected dependent states ; " while Creasy maintained " that titular independence is not sovereignty if coupled with actual subjection." He further observed, " such is the condition of the Native States."

Alongside the conflicting nature of some of these well-known authorities on constitutional law we have the unequivocal declaration of a succession of representatives of the Crown that " the sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its prerogatives." Lord Reading's letter to the Nizam merely paraphrased this view-point. On the whole, therefore, the status of the Princes and the niceties of their relations with the Sovereign Power continued to be tinged

with a vagueness about which experts agreed to differ and upon which laymen were loathe to intrude.

2

The result of these controversies was the Butler Committee. The Government of India gladly agreed to its appointment in the hope that it would settle the question of its Paramountcy once and for all. The Princes on whose iniatative the Committee was appointed welcomed it, clutching the fond hope that it would equally once and for all recognise their internal sovereignty, *vis-a-vis* the Government of India. The Committee's terms of reference were :

> " (1) To report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from—
>
> (*a*) treaties, engagements and *sanads*, and
>
> (*b*) usage, sufferance and other causes ; and
>
> (2) to enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States, and to make any recommendations that the Committee may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment."

The Committee visited 15 States enjoying " a great and traditional hospitality." It travelled 8,000 miles in India and examined " informally " 48 witnesses (Paras 3 and 4). After the visit to the States " during the winter months," it adjourned to England where the case for the Princes was presented by eminent Counsel, headed by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Leslie Scott. The meetings of the Committee were in secret and it refused to hear the representatives of the Indian States Peoples' Conference. Why secrecy was necessary, one does not know. It is true the terms of reference precluded enquiry into the private affairs of individual States, but why important questions purely of a constitutional nature should have been considered in private and *ex parte* of the Indian Legislature, Indian State subjects and the press, one does not know. The Princes spent vast sums of money in pressing their claims and upon propaganda. In spite of their best efforts, the verdict of the Butler Committee went definitely against them on the constitutional issues. Sovereignty or Supremacy, Powers

and Privileges of the Paramount Power were established beyond a shadow of doubt. No wonder therefore the Chamber of Princes lost its temper.

3

Sir Leslie Scott's main points pressed before the Butler Committee on behalf of his royal clients, may be summarised (*Report*, pp. 60-70) as follows :

(*1*) " *The relationship between the Crown and the various Indian States is one of mutual rights and obligations and we have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that it must be ascertained by legal criteria.*

(*2*) " *The Indian States were originally independent, each possessed of full sovereignty, and their relationship* inter se *and to the British Power in India was one which an international lawyer would regard as governed by the rules of international law.*

(*3*) " *As soon as a treaty was made between the Crown and a State, the mutual rights and obligations flowing therefrom, and the general nature of the relationship so established could only be ascertained by reference to legal principles. This result has not, in our opinion, been in any way affected either by lapse of time, or by change of circumstances.*

(*4*) " *As each State was originally independent, so each remains independent, except to the extent to which any part of the Ruler's sovereignty has been transferred to the Crown. To the extent of such transfer the sovereignty of the State becomes vested in the Crown ; whilst all sovereign rights, privileges and dignities not so transferred remain vested in the Ruler of the State.*

(*5*) " *The phrase 'residuary jurisdiction' is sometimes used in official language. In our opinion it is the State and not the Crown which has all residuary jurisdiction.*

(*6*) " *The Crown has no sovereignty over any State by virtue of the prerogative or any source other than cession from the Ruler of the State. The idea which is held or seems to be held in some quarters that the Crown possesses sovereign rights not*

so transferred to it by the State is erroneous.

(7) " Sovereignty is, as between wholly independent States, susceptible of transfer from one holder to another by compulsory annexation or voluntary cession.

(8) " A real cession, i.e , a transfer which is really the act of the transferor, is essentially a product if voluntary agreement.

(9) " Sir William Lee Warner suggests five channels as contributing to the rights or duties of the Indian Princes : (i) the Royal Prerogative, (ii) Acts or Resolutions of Parliament, (iii) the law of nature, (iv) direct agreement between the parties and (v) usage. With regard to the first two suggested channels or to use a word which seems to us to be more appropriate—sources of rights and duties, we are quite unable to find any legal principle on which it is possible to base a contention that either (i) the Royal Prerogative (ii) Acts or Resolutions of the British Parliament can give to the Crown any rights against the States or impose any abligations upon them.

(10) " The consent to the transfer to the Crown of any sovereign powers is the consent of each individual State given by its sovereign. Each State, and each occasion of transfer must be considered separately, in order to find out what the agreement was by which the consent of the State was given to any particular cession.

(11) " Paramountcy bears the same meaning in relation to *all the States, although the precise manner in which it is put into operation in any given circumstances may differ. In this sense, and in this sense only, can it be said that the position of all the States* vis-a-vis *the Crown is the same. But it is the same not because the Crown has any inherent residuary rights but because all the States have by agreement ceded paramount rights to the Crown.*

(12) " Agreement transferring sovereign rights normally expressed in treaty, though capable of being made informally but onus of proof is then on the transferee, i.e., the Crown.

" When one side makes an agreement with another State affecting its sovereignty and thereby does an act of great public

importance, it is usual to put the agreement into solemn form, in order to have an unimpeachable record, and to ensure that the signatories are properly accredited to bind their respective States.

(*13*) "(*a*) *We have already discussed certain aspects of paramountcy and have expressed the opinion that the relationship is founded upon agreement, express or implied, existing in the case of all the States, and that the mutual rights and duties, to which it gives rise, are the same in the case of all the States, In order to ascertain what these mutual rights and duties are, it is necessary to consider what are the matters in respect of which there has been a cession of sovereignty on the part of all the States.*

"(*b*) *The gist of the agreement constituting Paramountcy is, we think, that the State transfers to the Crown the whole conduct of its foreign relations—every other State being foreign for this purpose—and the whole responsibility of defence ; the consideration for this cession of sovereignty is an undertaking by the Crown to protect the State and its Ruler against all enemies and dangers external and internal, and to support the Ruler and his lawful successors on the throne. These matters may be conveniently summarised as, and are in his opinion called, 'foreign relations and external and internal security'. We can find no justification for saying that the rights of the Crown in its capacity as Paramount Power extend beyond these matters.*"

On the economic and financial relations, the grievances of the States were :

(1) That many of the rights belonging to them as internally Sovereign States were unjustly taken away for the benefit of British India in the past ; and

(2) that in dealing with the Government of India as at present constituted their claims are not sufficiently presented or considered under the existing system. The rights which were alleged to have been infringed are enumerated under the following heads :

(*i*) Maritime Customs, (*ii*) Railways, (*iii*) Mines and coinage, (*iv*) Loans and relations with Capitalists

and Financial Agents, (*v*) Salt, (*vi*) Posts, (*vii*) Telegraphs, Wireless and Telephones, (*viii*) Mail Robbery Rules, (*ix*) Opium, (*x*) Excise, (*xi*) Miscellaneous claims.

4

To the representations of the Princes Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues gave the following answers :

(1) " We agree that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown, that the treaties made with them, or treaties made with the Crown, and that those treaties are of a continuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown. We agree that it is not correct to say that 'the treaties with the Native States must be read as a whole,' a doctrine to which there are obvious objections in theory and in fact."

(2) " On the other hand we cannot agree with certain statements and arguments that occur in this opinion. The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States is not merely a contractual relationship, resting on treaties made more than a century ago. It is a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy resting as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact. The novel theory of a paramountcy agreement, limited as in the legal opinion, is unsupported by evidence, is thoroughly undermined by the long list of grievances placed before us which admit a Paramountcy extending beyond the sphere of any such agreement."

(3) " It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent, each possessed of full sovereignty and of a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by the rules of international law. In fact, none of the states ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Mughul Empire, the Mahratta supremacy or the Sikh kingdom, and dependent on them. Some were rescued, others were created, by the British."

(4) " We cannot agree that usage in itself is in any way sterile. Usage has shaped and developed the relationship

between the Paramount Power and the States from the earliest times almost in some cases, as already stated, from the dates of the treaties themselves. Usage is recited as a source of jurisdiction in the preamble to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890 (53 & 54 Vict. C. 37) and is recognised in decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

(5) " *These important effects of the operation of usage and sufferance were pointed out by the Government of India in 1877. " The paramount supremacy of the British Government, it was then said, " is a thing of gradual growth ; it has been established partly by conquest ; partly by treaty ; partly by usage ; and for a proper understanding of the relations of the British Government to the Native States, regard must be had to the incidents of this* de facto *supremacy, as well as to treaties and charters in which reciprocal rights and obligations were recorded, and the circumstances under which those documents were originally framed. In the life of States, as well as of individuals, documentary claims may be set aside by overt acts ; and a uniform and long continued course of practice acquiesced in by the party against whom it tells, whether that party be the British Government or the Native States, must be held to exhibit the relations which in fact subsist between them."*

(6) " *It is not in accordance with historical fact that Paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters only,* viz., *those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security, unless these terms are made to cover all these acts which the Crown through its agents has considered necessary for imperial purposes, for the good Government of India as a whole, the good government of individual states, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life, and for dealing with cases in which rulers have proved unfit for the position. It is not in accordance with historical fact to say that the term 'subordinate co-operation' used in many of the treaties is concerned solely with military matters. The term has been used consistently for more than a century in regard to political relations. In these and other respects the opinion of counsel appears to us to ignore a long chapter of historical experience."*

(7) " *We are concerned with the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States as it exists to-day, the product of change and growth."*

(a) *" The Indian States have no international life. For international purposes State territory is in the same position as British territory, and State subjects are in the same position as British subjects. Since a foreign power will hold the Paramount Power responsible for injuries to its subjects committed in an Indian State, the Paramount Power is under obligation to see that those subjects are fairly treated. Of these duties Professor Westlake very truly says that they are owed by the States to Great Britain ' as the managing representative of the Empire as a whole.'*

(b) *" The Paramount Power is responsible for the defence of both British India and the Indian States and, as such, has the final voice in all matters connected with defence, including establishments, war material, communications, etc.*

" It follows that the Paramount Power should have means of securing what is necessary for strategical purposes in regard to roads, railways, aviation, posts, telegraphs, telephones, and wireless cantonments, forts, passage of troops and the supply of arms and ammunition.

(c) *" The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of the insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to that result.*

" The promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him, and to substitute another form of government.

" If they were due, not to misgovernment, but to a widespread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Prince; but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince. No such case has yet arisen, or is likely to arise if the Prince's rule is just and efficient, and in particular if the advice

given by His Excellency Lord Irwin to the Princes, and accepted in principle by their Chamber, is adopted in regard to a fixed privy purse, security of tenure in the public service and an independent judiciary.

(*d*) " *The history of intervention has already been described, Intervention may take place for the benefit of the Prince, of the State, of India as a whole.*

" *It is only on the ground that its interference with State sovereignty is for the economic good of India as a whole that the Paramount Power is justified in interposing its authority. It is not justified in interposing its authority to secure economic results which are beneficial only or mainly to British India in a case in which the economic interests of British India and the States conflict.*

(*8*) " *These are some of the incidents and illustrations of Paramountcy. We have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of paramountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed to do so. The reason for such failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain Paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States. Nor need the States take alarm at this conclusion. Through paramountcy and paramountcy alone have grown up and flourished those strong and benign relations between the Crown and the Princes on which at all times the States rely. On Paramountcy and Paramountcy alone can the States rely for their preservation through the generations that are to come. Through paramountcy is pushed aside the danger of destruction or annexation.*

(*9*) " *Realising this, the States demand that without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control, for instance, on Indian government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature.*"

The findings on the economic side may be summarised as follows : —

(1) "*The claim to a share of maritime customs is accepted subject to the condition that the States agree to share financial burden of the Imperial and Provincial Government, and an enquiry for the adjustment of these claims is suggested.* (*Vide* paras. 80 to 88.)

(2) *All financial claims advanced by the States in the matter of* (i) *railways,* (ii) *mines,* (iii) *coinage* (iv) *salt,* (v) *post,* (vi) *telegraphs,* (vii) *wireless and telephones,* (viii) *opium and* (ix) *excise are substantially rejected except in few minor matters.*" (*Vide* paras. 39 to 105)

5

Except in certain particulars there must be general agreement with the findings of the Butler Committee. But these particulars are not of a negligible character.

In the first place no authority has been cited for the proposition set out in para. 38 of the Committee's report, *viz.*, that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown and that the treaties are made with the Crown. The Paramount Power has been defined in para. 18 to mean the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General-in-Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain. It is common ground that treaties only subsist with about 40 States out of 562 and only one of the treaties was entered into after the Mutiny. The treaties were made in the name of the British Government on the one hand and the States on the other. The British Government before the Mutiny implied the Government of the East India Company. At no time in the forty treaties can the treaty-making power of the Government of India be said to have been exercised on behalf of the Crown. Lord Reading was right when he proclaimed the supremacy of the Government of India.

Even if, however, there be some basis for the far-fetched theories of the treaties being with the Crown, there can be no possible shadow of doubt that the Government of India has been the *de facto* Paramount Power. Bar a titular homage to the Sovereign, the rights and privileges of the Paramount Power have been exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council and more often than not independently of the Secretaries of State. The necessities of the Government of India have been the necessities of the Paramountcy and the exercise of the powers of Paramountcy proof thereof.

The theory of Paramountcy enunciated in the "Joint Opinion" as confined to "foreign relations and external and internal security" is rejected by the Butler Committee who claim for the Paramount Power in addition to the rights conceded in the "Joint Opinion," the right of intervention in any one of three circumstances. Such intervention may be (*i*) for the benefit of the Prince or (*ii*) of the State or (*iii*) of India as a whole. (Para. 51). It is also claimed that the "Paramount Power should have means of securing what is necessary for strategical purposes in regard to Roads, Railways, Aviations, Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones and Wireless Cantonments, Forts, Passages of troops, supply of arms and ammunition." (Para. 48). But it is difficult to see why if the present Government of India as a *de facto* Paramount Power has the rights "arising from usage, sufferance, etc." and requires and reserves all the rights cited above, why these are not necessary and should not be reserved to the Government of India of to morrow. The Princes' viewpoint is unintelligible. If Paramountcy is concerned mainly with the conduct of "foreign relations and external and internal security," it is difficult to see why a Dominion Government cannot discharge the duties under the treaties, considering that no Dominion Government would be worth the name without the sanctions that maintain the present Government of India. By reason of its position, its resources and its necessities, the Government of India, whether in its present form or in an amended form, must exercise the powers of the Paramountcy. This may be with the advice or under the general superintendence of the Crown. Even if the theory is maintained, the practice cannot be changed. It is in the interests of India as a whole that the Government of India should be Paramount. "Paramountcy must remain Paramount, but it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." (Para. 57).

6

As we have already seen, one of the grounds upon which the Butler Committee have maintained the right of intervention of the Paramount Power is in the interests of the State. This right was admitted on behalf of the Princes in the "Joint Opinion." The authors were, however, careful not to specify details. The Butler Committee Report is quite clear that the guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it the obligation to enquire into the causes of the insurrection and the right to prescribe the remedial measures necessary to meet the circumstances of the case.

In addition the right of the Paramount Power to intervene in the case of gross misrule is also maintained (para. 53). While generally agreeing with these propositions we do not think that they fully represent the obligations and rights of the Paramount Power in regard to misrule and misgovernment. If the Paramount Power has the obligation and right, as the Butler Committee conceive, to intervene in case of gross misrule or to prescribe measures to satisfy popular grievances. It has the right of general supervision over the administration. To intervene it is not necessary to wait till the insurgents and rebels are storming the palace gates. The Paramount Power has not merely the right but the definite obligation to intervene if the administration is not conducted on proper lines. As to what are proper lines, a workable definition was provided to the Chamber of Princes by His Excellency Lord Irwin in 1927 and will be found cited in full elsewhere. Any administration not up to these essential standards are examples of misrule. If the Paramount Power does not interfere, the Paramount Power is derelict in its duties and its responsibilities.

According to the representation of the Indian States' people to the Butler Committee, the Paramount Power has not discharged its duties, as it ought to have :

> " *When once the duty of the Paramount Power to secure the welfare of the people of these States is admitted and understood, it is relevant to consider how this day has been discharged during a period extending over nearly a century. The Government of India exercises the Paramount Power delegated to it by Parliament through the Foreign and Political Department. Of all departments under the Government of India, this department is most irresponsive to the people in Indian States. This department invariably follows the lines of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of a State whenever the interests of the people are concerned. Whenever Imperial interests are involved or the safeguarding of the financial position of the Government of India is concerned, the Department has been active and vigilant, it has used its diplomatic pressure to induce the Rulers to consent to measures required by the Paramount Power and to follow policies which are initiated by the same Power. The closing of mints, the abolition of the manufacture of salt, the construction of railways, the establishment of telegraph and telephone lines through the limits of these States, the acquisition of jurisdiction over State territories occupied by railways and telegraph lines, the abolition of all*

custom duties and inter-State tariff barriers for the promotion of free trade, the introduction of British currency, the reduction of the cultivation and consumption of opium, ganja and other articles of excise and taking the farming of these sources of revenues—all these concessions have been obtained by the Political Department from the Indian Rulers with all the diplomacy at their command. Treaty rights and obligations have never deterred them from achieving the objects of imperial policy. But whenever the people of Indian States appeal to these officers of the Political Department who are posted in the neighbourhood of these States they invariably decline to interfere on the ground of supposed treaty rights and obligations. Experience has shown that whenever a political officer is inclined to interfere (and such cases are unfortunately very rare), the Political Department successfully interferes, treaty rights and obligations notwithstanding. It is, therefore, most pertinent to ask why the Department should display active vigilant solicitude when imperial interests are involved and should display utter indifferences when the welfare of the people is concerned."

7

The ingenious theory of Sir Leslie Scott and his colleagues that the basis of the Crown's Paramountcy is contract, has been rejected by the Butler Committee. If the basis of contract had been accepted, the recommendations that the Princes should not be transferred without their own consent and agreement to a relationship subordinate to a new government in British India, responsible to an Indian Legislature, would be intelligible. But from the long list of grievances laid before the Butler Committee, from the Paramountcy arising not merely from treaty but from usage and sufferance, a living and growing relationship, a relationship subject to the strategical necessities of the Government of India, the recommendation merely represents a sentiment and disregards in entirety the practical aspects of the question. Either the treaties are ' scraps of paper ', worthless, antiquated, superseded, and should be relegated to the waste-paper basket, or else they are sacred over the whole. Why only in so far as a possible subrogation in the constitution of the Paramount Power is concerned, are these treaties to be treated as sacrosanct ? The reason given is that " in view of the historic nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes," the latter " should not be transferred without their own agreement." We have seen that the historic nature of the relationship is pretty thin. Further

when the Crown took over from the East India Company, there was no question of consent. Why is it necessary now ? Has John Bull kept so many promises that one more pledge broken—if it is a pledge—will spoil his chances of the Kingdom of Heaven ?

The truth of the matter appears to be that here we come up against a new Imperial solution of the Indian problem. The Butler Committee followed by the Simon Commission have between them raised not one Ulster but 652 Ulsters. Round Table or no Round Table, the calendar has been put back for half a century.

8

The Butler Committee told the representatives of the Indian States' people that in the their terms of reference they could not enquire into the administration of States individually or has a whole. But this scrupulous regard for the limits of their authority did not prevent them from making the notorious recommendation already referred to, [see (9) page 141] a recommendation which was obviously outside the purview of their terms. We will consider this further (p. 150). But we would here like to say that it would be illuminating to have a Royal Commission on the administration of the Indian States. The British Crown is trustee for many backward nations, in the eyes of international law it is responsible for affairs in the Indian States. At the close of the War England assumed the mandatory charge of many civilized and semi-civilized territories. What about the conditions nearer home ? What about the fifty or sixty millions who are governed under anti-diluvian conditions ? The authors of the " Join Opinion " demanded that the relations between the Paramount Power and the States be determined by " legal criteria." It was an amusing plea. Law for the Lawless. That is what it amounted to.

The Butler Committee decided that the Princes had no case in law. Had they a case in equity ? Equity knows no law, but equity insists that the plaintiff do come with clean hands. The testimony of their own subject, embodied in one of the most remarkable documents in history—the representation of the Indian States' People to the Butler Committee—clinches this aspect of their case. Nicholson may plead that the Crown's pledges have been transgressed. Sir Leslie Scott that the Paramount Power has a contract to discharge. But one who has not performed his part of a bargain, cannot demand performance from another. This well-known aspect of the law of contract has been conveniently

overlooked. The case for the Princes, as at present stated, has neither law nor merit to commend it.

The Princes demand a revision of the political code of the Government of India ? For whom ? A by-the-letter observance of treaties is demanded. For whose benefit ? A share in the Central Revenues is claimed. For what purpose ? Have not the Princes generally enjoyed a remarkably liberal attitude towards their private and public conduct ? Have they used the powers and resources they already enjoy for the purposes for which these powers and resources are intended ? The Government of India may have wrung salt concessions, it may have wrung railway concessions, but it has not prevented any Prince from educating his people, it has not hampered him in introducing sanitation or in encouraging the industrial development of his State. It has not prevented the establishment of a genuine judicial system or the rule of law in any State. Look over the whole 562 States and count how many can honestly claim to anything approaching a modern administration. A few will be found where the "sovereignty" exercised is enlightened. The majority will, however, be found as Zimand says (*Living India*, p. 148), "where despotism is supreme" : it will also be found that the "majority of Maharajas refuse to listen to progress. They kill elephants and lions, live in luxury, organise magnificent festivals and pretty shows, are amused by their *Nautch* girls, dress in golden clothes, are flattered with salutes and long-sounding titles." (*Ibid*, p. 160.)

If the present powers of the Princes have not generally been utilized for the purpose for which they were meant, what guarantee is there that removed from the guiding arms of a watchful paramountcy, they will not degenerate and disintegrate ? Note the demands of the Indian States' Peoples. What do they signify ?

> "*The people of the Indian States, therefore, demand that a Royal Commission should be appointed* (1) *to investigate how far the Suzerain Power has discharged its duties of securing the welfare of the people of Indian States* (*including citizen relations and privileged classes*) *who are under the protection of the Paramount Power and who owe allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor of India ;* (2) *to ascertain how far the feudatory States have faithfully carried out treaty obligations and the duties imposed upon them by their subordinate position to maintain good government in their State ;* (3) *to*

investigate whether there exists any parliamentary Government and the rule of law in these Indian States; (4) whether the Indian Rulers have maintained efficiency of administration and secured the contentment of the people committed to their charge; (5) what the grievances are under which the people of Indian States are labouring by reason of autocratic rule and by reason of the neglect of duty on the part of the Sovereign Power; and (6) whether the Paramount Power has sacrificed the interests of the States in furtherance of Imperial policy and to advance Imperial interests."

9

There is the last but not least important aspect of the so-called sovereignty of the States which is so generally overlooked. If there is a sovereignty part or otherwise, in whom does this vest? Does it vest in the ruler or in the people or in the ruler and the people, the composite political entity called the State? More important than the theoretical attributes of sovereignty is the relationship of the ruler to his subject. We must bear in mind that the rights of the ruler and his heirs to the *gadi* are guaranteed by solemn pledges. Pledges that will have to be discharged and which would be binding on a Dominion Government, as they are binding to-day on the present Government of India.

Let us look into this question a little more closely. The corner stone of political theory has long been the principle of the State's sovereignty. It is sheer confusion to identify autarchy or self-sufficiency with sovereignty. The former may be a practical translation of a political and legal theory. The assertion of sovereignty carries with it the suggestion and rejection of a possible division of authority. Hence the doubtful value of Sir Henry Maine's description of Indian States as part sovereign. If is true that the authority of the king, even in the periods of extreme absolutism, did not reach the length that the theory demanded. But custom and established law were stubborn facts and the truth is that no absolute monarch ever actually obtained more than a very limited power to impose his will upon the common law of the folk or people. Sovereignty vests only in the State and the State is merely a personification of sovereignty. But the essential characteristic of the State is not supremacy but the fact that its powers are self-derived or inherent in it as a collectivity. There are therefore both sovereign and non-sovereign states. With this Crabbe agrees. (*The Idea of the Modern State*, p. 33.) The members of

the American feudal union are states because they are juristic persons with inherent powers but they are not sovereign.

The fundamental aspect of the modern state is its thoroughgoing subjection to law. The law represents an actually achieved evaluation of interests. Such an evaluation of interests yields the standards by which conduct is judged and gives rise to such broad categories as right and wrong, lawful and unlawful. Even in ancient times the fact has been established, the authority of the sovereign was limited by the rights of the people. The sovereign could change the law of the people only in co-operation with those members of society whose social standing was recognised. " The Divine right to govern wrong " was always short-lived. The consent of the classes affected was necessary in order to abridge any of their rights in the interests of the sovereign. It was quite early recognised that the sovereign authority is established by contract in which the community subjects itself to this authority. (*Ibid*, p. 18). The contract is with the ruler by which a *summus magistratus* is set up and endowed with limited sovereignty, with a provision for this recall in case his powers are misused. This contract establishes the supreme authority ; the people agreeing among themselves that each gives up his right to a single person or assembly on condition that others do the same. " The obligation to the sovereign " as Thomas Hobbes maintained was always considered " to last as long and no longer than the power lasteth by which he is able to protect them."

The basis therefore of a monarchy or an oligarchy or a democracy would appear to have been the same ; the authority of the nation to one, a few or the many to perform the administration of the State. The people as a community or *universitas* subordinates itself to a ruler by a *pactum subjectionis* and thus constitutes the State. Every government is, therefore, merely what Rousseau aptly describes as a " *commission du people* " which carries out a mandate revocable at any moment by the general will which in itself constitutes the positive law. *Rex nihil potest quod de jure potest* for the King could do nothing except what he could under the law. Upon the principles enunciated, which are general basis of both the modern and ancient theory of the state, we arrive at three important conclusions :

(1) that inasmuch as most of the ruling houses of the Indian States govern without the consent and approval of their subjects, there is no *pactum subjectionis* between the

rulers and their subjects. The treaties, agreements and pledges, if still binding, are understandings with the States as political entities. A prince who does not or cannot renew the *pactum subjectionis* is not a valid Ruler of his State.

(2) The Paramount Power cannot maintain the rights and privileges of a Prince who has lost the confidence of his people.

(3) That unless there is a rule of law, it is not a state in the juristic sense. There may be a titular ruler, there may be boundaries, revenues may be raised and expended and yet there may be anarchy or the absence of the rule of law. Anarchy need not be violent. Anarchy is the absence of law and anarchy may exist where one man holds sway or where the mob hold sway. His Excellency Lord Irwin refers to the rule of the Princes as a " personal rule." Personal rule without a *pactum subjectionis* is anarchy.

What answer has the special organization of the Chamber of Princes to these conclusions ?

10

" We are greatly impressed," says the Butler Committee, " by the importance which the States attach to direct relations with the Viceroy and by the immense value of Viceroy's personal influence with the Princes " (para. 63). To this end " we advise that in future the Viceroy—not the Governor-General-in-Council as at present—should be the Agent for the Crown in all dealings with the Indian States. This change will require legislation but will have three distinct advantages ; first, it will gratify the Princes to have more direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy ; secondly, it will relieve them of the feeling that cases affecting them may be decided by a body which has no special knowledge of them and may have interests in opposition to theirs and may appear as a judge in its own case, and thirdly, it will, in our opinion, lead to happier relations between the States and British India " (para. 67). The Butler Committee further expressed the notorious *obiter-dictum* (para. 58) :

" *Realising this, the States demand that without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its con-*

trol ; for instance, an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature. If any government in the nature of a dominion government should be constituted in British India, such a government would clearly be a new government resting on a new and written constitution. The contingency has not arisen ; we are not directly concerned with it ; the relations of the States to such a government would raise questions of law and policy which we cannot now and here foreshadow in detail. We feel bound, however, to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the Princes on this score, and to record our strong opinion that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature."

These recommendations that overstepped the limits of the terms of reference of the Butler Committee, were in deference to the wishes of the Princes as stressed both in written opinion of counsel and verbally before the Committee. As the concluding paragraph of the written Opinion claimed :

" In Municipal law contracts made in reliance on the personal capacity and characteristics of one party are not assignable by him to any other person. We regard the position of the Crown in its contracts with the States as comparable. Not only is the British Crown responsible for the defence and security of the States and the conduct of their foreign relations, but it has undertaken to discharge these duties itself for the States. The British Crown has this in common with a corporation that by its nature it must act through individuals ; but where it has undertaken obligations and duties which have been thus entrusted to it by the other contracting party in reliance on its special characteristics and reputation it must carry out those obligations and duties by persons under its own control, and cannot delegate performance to independent persons, nor assign to others the burden of its obligations or the benefit of its rights. So the British Crown cannot require the Indian States to transfer the loyalty which they have undertaken to show to the British Crown to any third party, nor can it, without their consent, hand over to persons who are in law or fact independent of the control of the British Crown, the conduct of the States' foreign relations, nor

the maintenance of their external or internal security."

Sir Leslie Scott, writing in the "Law Quarterly Review" (July 1928) contended on behalf of his clients that "the British Government as Paramount Power has undertaken the defence of all the States and *must, therefore, remain in India with whatever military and naval forces as may be requisite to enable it to discharge that obligation.* It cannot hand over these forces to any other government—to a foreign power such as France or Japan, to a Dominion Government such as Canada or Australia or even to British India."

From these assertions it would appear :

(1) that the relationship between the States and the Paramount Power is a relationship between the States on the one hand and the Crown on the other ;

(2) that the relationship is of a historical character, and is "direct" with the Crown ;

(3) that the relationship cannot be dissolved or its character changed without the consent of the States ;

(4) that the Crown cannot delegate its duties and entrust its obligations to the discharge of "any other government," foreign or otherwise ;

(5) that the British Government must remain in India with whatever military or naval forces necessary to maintain the Princes on their *gadis* ;

(6) that a Dominion Government would not be under the control of the Crown.

Let us consider these points in further detail.

11

When the Report of the All Parties' Conference, popularly known as the Nehru Report, was published, the Maharaja of Bikaner with considerable warmth declared :

"*Finally, let me give a friendly warning in all earnestness*

that the Indian States—by which I mean, as the term denotes, not only the Rulers and Governments, but also, let me repeat, the great majority of the millions of the subjects representing the Indian States—will never submit, should any one so desire it, whether in British India or elsewhere, to painting red that portion of the map of India which is now the yellow and which represents the Indian States; that the Indian States will never accept a position inferior to that of British India, nor will they stand dominated by British India or any one else or the exaggerated claims of British India to assume sovereignty or suzerainty over the Princes and States regardless of constitutional facts, nor will they submit to interference, in matters of purely individual concern to the State, or States concerned."

In considering the issues involved, such loss of temper would be merely indicative of a weak case. The case is undoubtedly weak. Not a single point raised by or on behalf of the Princes for direct relations with the Crown can stand the test of analysis. It is quite open to the Princes to say that they must have relations with the Crown and not with a Dominion Government willy-nilly, but willy-nilly the demand is unreasonable and exhibits a rather childish petulance.

From a survey of history it is clear that there has been no such thing as direct relations with the Crown. It is doubtful whether the relations that have subsisted between the Princes and the Crown have been more than formal and titular.

The Butler Committee have not considered it necessary to give any historical facts nor any legal arguments in support of their acceptance of the doctrine of direct relationship or of the necessity of the consent of the Princes to any change in the agency of control. It may, therefore, be assumed that the Committee has accepted the arguments of the "Joint Opinion." As a matter of fact, even the "Joint Opinion" does not cite historical fact or authority and rests its case on certain assumptions.

As a matter of fact the original treaties and engagements, etc., in most cases, were made between the States and the East India Company. The relations were conducted by the officials of the Company in India: from 1773 by the Governor-General under the authority of the Court of Directors and the general control of the Board of Control. Often the Governor-General conducted the

dealings with the States against the advice and without previous consultation with the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The East India Company first got its powers through Royal Charters; but later it derived its authority by Acts of Parliament. The Government was carried on in the name of the East India Company by its officials and all treaties and engagements were made by the officials of the Company in the name of the Company and not of the British Crown—though under authority derived from the British Parliament. It is, therefore, untrue to say, that the treaties, engagements, etc., of the States were made with the British Crown.

The treaties and engagements were entered into by the States with the East India Company because it was the ruler of an important portion of India and not because it was a British Trading Company. And it was because the Government of the territories of the East India Company was transferred to the Crown (acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General-in-Council with the help of other officials, and responsible to the British Parliament) that the Crown also accepted the duty—among others—to recognise the treaties and engagements with the Indian States.

Since the transfer of the Government of British India to the Crown, the relations with the States have been conducted by the Governor-General-in-Council through the Foreign and Political Department, various Local Governments, and British officials in the States; and except in important cases, without consulting the Secretary of State. The very fact that the Butler Committee proposes to transfer the charge of the Indian States from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy shows that till now the relations of the States have been with the Government of India and not with the British Crown.

Since the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, British India's relations with foreign powers—including the making of treaties, etc., are conducted in the name of the Crown as Ruler of British India and on behalf of British India with the Indian States conducted in the name of the Crown, as Ruler of British India and on behalf of the States.

It is thus clear that the relations of the States are with the Government of British India. The right to deal with the Princes was vested in the East India Company till 1858 and has since been

vested in the Crown, which acts through the Governor-General-in-Council and the other machinery created by the Government of India Acts 1915 and 1919. The relations with the States have actually been conducted so far by the Governor-General-in-Council. All acts of the Government of India are done in the name of the Crown in whom the statutes have vested the government of the country.

The Paramount Power has been throughout that body in whom the Government of India has been legally vested for the time being —it may have been the Emperor at Delhi, the East India Company with its headquarters in Calcutta or the Crown in London or Windsor. It is true that at the present time the Crown is the Paramount authority but it is paramount not because it symbolises the King of England but because it is in him that the Government of British India is vested. It is the Government of India which is the Paramount Power as far as the Indian States are concerned ; and this is proved by the fact that several of the States pay tribute to the Government of India, the amount of which is credited to the revenues of British India. If the Paramount Power had been the Chief Executive of Great Britain and not the Sovereign of British India, then the tribute would have been paid to Great Britain and credited to British revenues. It is significant that all these facts have been entirely ignored by both the eminent counsel of the Princes and by the Butler Committee. (Vide *Indian States and British India*, p. 93 *et seq.)*

12

It is, therefore, entirely a misnomer to say that there have been direct relations between the States and the Government which have to be preserved. The facts are that the Government of India, as already noted, is the *de facto* Paramount Power, the supreme authority not only for British India but also for the States. It is the King's gevernment and carries on the administration in his name and on his behalf. But even if viewed in a far-fetched manner, there is in practice no direct connection between the Crown and the subordinate States. Intervening is the authority of the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the British Parliament. The Crown in person have virtually not an iota of voice or power in the control of the affairs of the Empire. The sovereignty of the Crown means the sovereignty of the British nation, acting through King, Parliament, Secretary of State and Dominion administration. In theory it is the King's government. In reality it is the govern-

ment of the British people. In theory the sovereignty vests in the King-Emperor, in reality it is the might of the British Empire. In theory the Empire constitutes the domains of His Majesty, in reality His Majesty is merely the symbol of the paramountcy of England. Kings of England do not rule. They reign. Parliament rules, the British people conduct their own affairs through the elected representatives of the nation. The British people have divested themselves of some of the responsibilities and duties pertaining to the control and management of possessions beyond the seas. The Dominions enjoy virtual independence but are linked to the Commonwealth of the Empire by ties of fealty to a common King—the Dominion Governments no less than the Government of Whitehall are governments of the King, and the government of India of to-day is, and the government of India of to-morrow will be, a Government of the King. Sir Leslie Scott and his colleagues admit that "the States cannot dictate to the Crown the particular methods by which, or servants through whom the Crown should carry out its obligations. So long as the obligations are being fulfilled and the rights of States respected, the States have no valid complaint." How does this admission fit in with the claim that a Dominion Government cannot and must not discharge the duties and obligations of the Paramount Power towards the States? Therefore, according to Mr. Gurmukh Singh's contention, which appears to be correct, "the grant of self-government to British India raises no legal or practical difficulties in the way of the Crown's discharging its obligations towards the Indian States. In the first place the Government of India, under the Dominion Status, will be more truly the King's Government than it is to-day. According to the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee, 1926 (known as the Balfour Report), His Majesty governs a Dominion with and on the advice of his ministry in that Dominion, and, when India becomes a Dominion, the Government of India will be carried on by His Majesty, with and on the advice of his Indian ministry. As a matter of fact the only material difference between Independence and Dominion status lies in this that under Dominion status the British Crown will continue to be the Sovereign of British India and the government will be conducted by His Majesty's ministers; while with Independence British Crown will cease to be the Sovereign of British India, and the Government of India shall have nothing to do with His Majesty. It is surprising how this essential point has been ignored by the various British Constitutional authorities." (*Indian States and British India*, p. 99.)

Theoretically, therefore, the Princes have no case for a direct

relationship with the Crown. There has never been for two hundred years or more "a government under the control of the British Crown." The control of the Crown in affairs of States virtually ended with the Stuarts. The Crown has since meant the King in Parliament, acting by and with the advice of the Lords, Temporal and Spiritual, and in Commons in Parliament assembled. Every Dominion acts under powers delegated to it by the Crown and is in every constitutional sense the King's government and subject to his prerogatives. Sir Leslie Scott and his colleagues do not make it clear what specifically the Princes want. There is no government in the length and breadth of the Empire under the *de facto* control of the Crown in person, not even the Government in Whitehall. If Sir Leslie Scott means the direct control of Whitehall over the Princes, there is some sense in the statement, but we do not think that this was intended. If this was the meaning, it could have been expressed in less ambiguous terms.

13

The claim of direct relations with the Crown is both curious and mysterious. Constitutionally it has not a leg to stand upon, in practice it is nothing more than the shadow, the substance being the sovereignty of the British Parliament. There is no likelihood, but there is always the possibility, that England may some day decide to be a republic, at the head of which is a President. Under the present limited monarchy, England has all the advantages of a republic and few of the disadvantages. There may be no tangible advantage in turning England into a republic, but no man can dare prognosticate as to the future. Would the position of the Princes be materially affected by a constitutional change in the Paramount figurehead? Could they repudiate the British connection and claim to be henceforth independent sovereigns? One thing, however, is certain that if the British Army is still intact and anywhere within mobile distance, no such specious pleas would be forthcoming, and Their Highnesses would be quite prepared to express their affections and their loyalty to a President of the British Commonwealth! The ultimate basis of all constitutions is sanction. So long as the British Parliament has adequate sanction behind its decrees, the Governor-General-in-Council or otherwise has an efficient Army organisation in the background, Their Highnesses will be always ready with their devotion and their personal attachment to the powers that be. Take away the sanction, and "so His Highness is getting his troops in shape, accumulating munitions and coining silver. And if the British do

go, three months afterwards there will not be a rupee or a virgin left in all Bengal." (*Mother India*, p. 289.) The virgin is important !

"Again it is not true to say that every contract between private individuals is of such a personal character as to be incapable of being performed by any one else. There is no question of one of the contracting parties having any special confidence in the other. The so-called contracts were made under stress of circumstances and would have been of the same or similar character with any other power if it occupied the position of the British. The argument ignores the settled practice of the Government of India and, by invoking so-called first principles in determining the 'legal relationship,' it overlooks the hard and unchallengeable fact that from the early days of the Company it has been the Government of India and the Government of India alone which has dealt with Indian Princes and Indian States. It introduces an element of 'personal confidence' between them and the British nation which is not easy to understand. It suggests that the past and present Governments of India which have so far exercised the power, said to be delegated from the Crown, were and are acceptable, to the Indian Princes and Indian States; but that the future Government of India, if it is to be of the Dominion type, will not be so acceptable This, in plain English, means that the past and present governments of India were acceptable because they were essentially foreign in their composition and not responsible to the Indian electorate and that the future responsible Government of India would not be acceptable to the Indian Princes because it will consist of their own countrymen and because it will be responsible to an electorate of their own countrymen. But supposing that this is so, is their any authority for the proposition that when a 'contract' may be performed by an agent the choice of that agent does not rest with the principal but with the other party to the 'contract'? We have shown that so far the 'contract' has been performed by white agents to the apparent satisfaction of the brown Princes. On what principle of law, we ask, may that 'contact' not be performed by brown agents to the equal, if not greater, satisfaction of the brown Princes?" (*Report of the All Parties' Conference*, pp. 78-9).

14

As already indicated, the insistence on direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy, is both curious and mysterious. This demand unsupported by an iota of intelligent reasoning is virtually an obsession with some Princes. The Maharaja of

Bikaner makes it clear that India consists of two component parts, —" one, British India—consisting of the territory and subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor ; and the other, the Indian States—consisting of the territories and subjects of the Ruling Princes of India in perpetual Alliance and Friendship with the British Government; and as such, these two different territories and subjects are independent of each other, in spite of all that may be urged to the contrary in any quarter in British India ; and the Indian States, therefore, are very real factors to be reckoned with. Nor can the Treaties with the States, together with their Sovereign and other rights, be treated lightly or discarded as mere scraps of paper at the will or dictation of any community, body or person, in British India or outside British India." The argument of " perpetual alliance " was further adumbrated in a later speech which contained a most astounding statement, a statement which reflects the mind of the lights of the Princes' Chamber better than any comments that can be offered here. Said His Highness of Bikaner : " Even the British Parliament cannot claim any jurisdiction to examine the constitutions obtaining in the Indian States and the admission of such jurisdiction at the Round Table Conference would be destructive of the internal sovereignty of the States which naturally they dearly cherish." One admires the audacity if one is not convinced with the hypothesis or the reasoning.

In contrast read the declaration and demands of the Indian States People :

" The people of the Indian States have every sympathy with the reforms in British India and they centre their hopes of liberation and political salvation upon the establishment of responsible government in British India as a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Indian Princes are feeling nervous about the future Swaraj Government and apprehend that their privileges would be encroached upon. The States' people never wish that the British Indian Commonwealth should be deprived of the control of the British Indian Army. They entertain absolutely no doubt about their safety and they feel as secure about their protection under the future Commonwealth as they are under the present Government of India. The Indian Princes are asserting that the control over the British Indian Army should not be handed over to the Democratised Constitution in British India, and should be retained under the control of the British Government for their protection and for safeguarding their treaty rights. The people of the Indian States feel proud at the prospect of the future

Government of India being administered by the agents of the people responsible to the people and are quite willing to recognise the Swaraj Government as the Paramount Power. The Indian Princes on the other hand desire that the agents of the Crown should rule over them for ever. They insist that the Political Department should be taken away from the control of the future Government of India and they should be entirely dissociated from it and that they are unwilling to recognise the future government as the representative of the Paramount Power."

15

The demand of the Princes to be free of a Dominion Government would certainly lead one to suppose that the relations with the present Political Administration are to their satisfaction. One might also legitimately suppose that the Princes agree with the Butler Committee in the "highest opinion of the work of the Political Department" realising "they owe much to their present prosperity and progress to the friendly advice and help of Political Officers." From the measure of the insistence and warmth of language employed on "direct relations" it would appear that not only do the Princes endorse every word of the Butler Committee's certificate to the Political Department but go further and are apprehensive that "they would not have the same generous treatment from the Political Department responsible to a Dominion Government, as they have at present." But do the Princes agree with the encomium of the Political Department in para. 74 of the Butler Report? Have they the highest opinion of the work of the Political Department?

The picture of the Political Department painted by the Princes or on their behalf by their Publicity Department is certainly not the picture painted by Sir Harcourt Butler and his Committee. Here is the Political Department through the spectacles of the Chamber of Princes:

> *(1). "Without exception, they (the Princes) are agreed in believing that the present machinery by which their relations with the Crown are conducted needs radical alteration. They believe they have solid cause for complaint; they also believe that their grievances can be removed consistently with justice to all parties." (The British Crown and the Indian States, pp. 16-17.)*

(2). *"The Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India have supervised our Treaties with the Indian States since the Mutiny. For sixty years they escaped all criticism, and became in consequence one of the strongest bureaucracies in the world."* (*Scraps of Paper, p. 52.*)

(3). *"This imperious bureaucracy who have withheld agreements, made their own laws, and overridden Treaties, have shown themselves in few things more powerful than in rendering nugatory the Chamber of Princes set up by the Crown as the complement in the States to the reformed Councils in British India."* (*Ibid, p. 53.*)

(4). *"And when a bureaucracy was established their desire to govern became almost an obsession."* (*Ibid, p. 56*).

(5). *"The system, in brief, is that our Political Officers in supervising the Treaties interpose their authority between the Ruler and his subjects; interfere with the internal administration of the States; take possession of lands; and impose taxes; force the British Indian regime on Princes against their judgment, and diminish their sovereignty."* (*Ibid, p. 57*).

(6). *"Another was that the Department's interpretation of Treaty engagements had the effect of law, and constituted 'Indian Political Law', a phrase which was minted."* (*Ibid, p. 57.*)

(7). *"The dealings of the Political Department with the States provide cases of injustice equally fantastic, such as the suppression of the salt trade in maritime States, the deposition of the late Maharaja of Kashmir, our acquisition of the Province of Berar, and other actions now related. Such things are not condemned, only because the facts have been hidden. It is the system which is at fault, for the Department do not supervise, they govern, and their government is arbitrary because it is divorced from criticism and control. This is their 'practice, when it is stripped of casuistry."'* (*Ibid, p. 64.*)

(8). *"The solemn pledges given by Queen Victoria were of themselves insufficient to solve the problem presented by the survival of the Indian States."* (*The British Crown and the Indian States, p. 10.*)

(9). "*Policies were laid down for all India by the Technical Departments of the British India Government; and the States were expected merely to record their acquiescence.*" *(Ibid, p. 10.)*

(10). "*In particular they observed that during minority administrations, when the British Government virtually controlled the States, irresistible pressure was sometimes applied to achieve ends which, though sometimes but not always benevolently conceived, involved the sacrifice of some cherished privilege, immunity or liberty on the part of the Prince concerned. They began to appeal to protest, to memorialise.*" *(Ibid, p. 21).*

(11). "'*What struck me most forcibly was the rude and rough manner with which the English Political Officers (as they are called who are in attendance on Native Chiefs) treat them. It is indeed much to be deplored and the system is, I am sure, quite wrong!*"' *(Ibid, p. 71.)*

(12). "*The new subjection of the States was as serious to them economically as politically, and pursued with equal persistency. The Government of India was taking every opportunity offered by the minority administrations or temporary embarrassments of the Rulers to force them into the economic system of British India.*" *(Ibid, p. 73.)*

(13). "*The Government of India was eager to drive hard bargains wtth the States in many economic matters, and especially in the matter of salt, of which they had made up their minds to acquire a remunerative monopoly.*" *(Ibid, p. 75.)*

(14). "*The Government of India has exerted itself to push forward new claims, and to extend old ones. For this purpose, constitutional, legal and feudal theories have been brought into use. Each in its turn has served to deprive the Rulers of some part of their authority, or to give to the Central Government some new basis for intervention.*" *(Ibid, p. 89.)*

(15). "*The attitude of considering the Rulers of Indian States as servants of the Government of India, bound to take orders from Simla and Calcutta and having no rights of their own, was best illustrated in the circular issued by Lord Curzon's government, stating that before an Indian Ruler left*

India, the permission of the Viceroy should be obtained." (*Ibid, p. 91.*)

(16). *" The doctrine, dear to the heart of the Government of India, of maintaining the prestige of the men on the spot, made it possible for every officer to dominate the affairs of the State to which he was accredited."* (*Ibid, p. 109.*)

(17). *" Apart from the definite duties which were assigned to Political Agents, according to the treaties or according to the arbitrary action of Government, there grew up in the course of time the theory of giving 'advice' to the Indian Rulers. Originally inserted only in agreements with States over which the British Government had acquired a lawful right of control, the provision for compliance with advice served the purpose of the individual Resident whose policy it was to watch the action of the Ruler. Under such circumstances, conflicts inevitably arose from time to time, and in the evolution of relations the authority of the Resident naturally tended to become dominant. But in the practice which grew up round the theory of giving advice, the distinction was soon lost between the States in which the Political Agent had the right to 'advise,' and those in which he had no right, and between questions on which the British Government might legitimately intervene, like defence, and those in which it had no such right. Instances abound where a real or assumed right of 'advice' has been used by Political Officers to secure the cession of valuable rights to the Government of India, even to the financial loss of the State concerned, e.g., the Inter-Postal Convention of Travancore, which was signed, after much protest, because the Ruler was officially 'advised' by the Resident to do so, and many cases to be found in the printed evidence tendered to the Indian States' Committee."* (*Ibid, p. 109.*)

(18). *" With the help of misinterpretation of a phrase 'subordinate co-operation'—the Political Agent has become the repository of almost unique powers. (1) He is a judicial officer entrusted with the enforcement of law against Europeans in all States and against British Indians in some. (2) He is the sole channel of communication with the Government of India, whose deputy he is in all matters. (3) He also enjoys extra-territoriality, freedom from Custom, special personal honours, etc. (4) He also represents the Government of India*

in an executive capacity. The combination of such diverse authority makes the residents of Indian States specially prone to interpret the obligations of 'subordinate co-operation' of States as meaning compliance without question with any wish they may express. As long as the phrase 'subordinate co-operation' is left undefined and the limitations within which 'advice' may be given are not understood and prescribed, the Indian States must continue to be placed at the mercy of the Executive Government of India and its officers in the Political Department." (*Ibid, p.* 111.)

Even the advent of the Chamber of Princes has made a little difference apparently to the methods of the Political Department. Thus in the opinion of the Chancellor of the Chamber :

(*19*). *"We found in practice that as soon as we had come to some tentative outlines of agreement with the Government of India, the opinions which that Government elicited, either from Provincial Governments or from local Political Officers, were such as to throw the whole thing into the melting-pot once more. The upshot was, of course, equally unsatisfactory both to ourselves and to Government. We often felt that we had gone to the very verge of compromising what we regarded as our undoubted rights; in order to meet the wishes of the Political Department. But the system of reference to which I have alluded effectually destroyed all ready chances of satisfactory compromise."* (*Scraps of Paper, p.* 54).

These quotations from two authoritative publications of the special organisation of the Chamber of Princes have been cited at some length to avoid any misconception as to opinion of the members of the Chamber of Princes regarding the conduct and methods of the present Political Department. If any further evidence were needed, we have the terms of reference of the Butler Committee. In fact the entire enquiry hinged generally on the interpretation of treaties, the encroachments of the Paramount Power; in short, on the administration of the relations with the States by the Political Department. It will be remembered that the Political Department has been in the charge of the Viceroy, who is his own political member, and in the words of the Butler Committee, the change now proposed that the Viceroy and not the Governor-General-in-Council should be the agent for the Crown is not "so great as at first sight appears", and even to-day "the great bulk of the work of the Political Department is disposed of

by him with the help of the Political Secretary" (*Butler Committee Report*, para. 68). If therefore the change is not "so great" and the present administration of the Political Department is what the Chamber would have us believe, and if the citations from *Scraps of Paper and the British Crown and the Indian States* represent accurately the state of affairs, it is difficult to comprehend why the new change which is not "so great" after all, "will gratify the Princes" (para. 67), or why the Princes insist on the continuation of a system with which they find so much fault.

In an interview with the press, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes referring to the Bharatpur affair, compared the attitude of the Political Department to the Prussianism against which the world's most righteous war was waged. As a matter of fact the whole Bharatpur incident is still shrouded in deep mystery. At one time there was great ado in political and other circles regarding the Maharaja and his State. There was a murder and of course a woman was involved. There was some kind of enquiry and whitewash. There followed the intervention of the Political Department and orders to Bharatpur to submit to an enquiry or to abdicate. Bharatpur chose to abdicate and gave a farewell reception on the eve of his departure to his court and paid Rs. 50,000 to the girl of the evening! After that the sequence was a mystery. Some say that the Princes in a body protested to the Viceroy, others that Bharatpur outwitted the Political Department by suddenly locking himself up in his fort and sending a message to the Political Secretary that if they wanted him, they could blow in his fort. The Political Department was all for firmness but it could not risk the publicity of a war with a second class Rajputana State. The Chancellor of the Princes, it is said, intervened and Bharatpur was allowed to retain his crown without the ignominy of a trial. This is a story that one hears from quarters closely associated with the Chamber of Princes. All that the public knows is that Bharatpur came up to a Simla for the summer and rode up and down the Imperial Metropolis in a proud cavalcade of fine ponies.

Even if the Bharatpur incident be interpreted as a victory for the Chamber, there is, however, no logical explanation to the attitude of the Princes. The Princes are avowedly unhappy under the administration of the present Political Department. The Butler Committee has given the "knock-out" to all their pretensions to sovereignty. They want closer connection with a department that has treated their treaties as "scraps of paper"; they want a continuance of

the "imperious bureaucracy" whose "desire to govern is almost an obsession." There is only one explanation to this paradox and that was brutally expressed by Sir Leslie Scott in the *Law Quarterly Review* (July 1928), that the British Government having undertaken the obligation to maintain the sovereignty of the Princes, must remain with whatever military and naval forces are necessary to discharge this obligation.

There is an element of humour and pathos in the whole of the atmosphere of this appeal. Humour because it is an appeal by Indian feudalism and autocracy to the British Democracy for help in this last tottering stage, pathos because the Princes realise that without the support of the British Army their present powers cannot be maintained. The Political Department may have trampled across sovereign territories, they may have relegated treaties to the scrap heap, they may have wrung concessions for railways and canals, they may even have "given Residents and Agents precedence over Princes to whose Courts they are attached," but unless there was a murder, an attempted poisoning or other "gross mismanagement," they have not interfered very seriously in "internal affairs." A Prince has been free to spend what he likes, do what he likes, live as he likes. Many Princes realise that owning the paramountcy of a Dominion Government will be a different matter. It will entail greater responsibility, the tests applied will be severer. The demands of better government will be steadily pressed, they will not be allowed 40 and 50 per cent. of their State revenues, they will not be allowed to charge their private cars to the Military Department, or their dancing girls to the Home Department, or their *shikar* to the expenses of the Forest Department. They will have to take their people into partnership of the administration. They will gradually have to divest themselves of their absolute powers ; their people will not be satisfied with mere words of sympathy. They will no longer be able to talk the language of democracy and tread the path of tyrants. They see the rising storm, they see the first signs of disturbance in the placid waters and want to close the flood-gates with the men and power of the Empire.

But in the Empire their propaganda gets feeble response. The British people have little sympathy and can have little sympathy. There may be a picturesque interest in the potentates who reserve whole suites in West-end hotels. There may be interest in the picturesque royalty who pay fabulous fees to "leading ladies," or who paint London and Paris red. But the war of democracy was

not fought to perpetuate this type of parasite. Nor was it fought to perpetuate medieval rule upon several millions of human race. The world has moved very far from the glittering days of Louis XIV. Dukes and Lords are proud of the common touch. The Prince of Wales is glad to look a commoner. Pearls and diamonds no longer constitute a man's worth, nor is the function of government confined to the waging of war or to the buildings of forts and palaces. Even in those long gone centuries, when a ruler's duties were not on so altruistic a plane as it is to-day, there were limits to all good things. India in this was no exception. As Professor Abhyankar writes:

> *" In those olden days every Prince in India was bound to respect the wishes of his people and to trust them for his safety. If it was not so, he was dethroned by his own people and there was no authority outside the States to whom a Ruler can look to for safety and protection in such an emergency. With the sheer consent of the people the old Indian autocrat, preserved himself, his family and his throne. No wonder, therefore, that the people in those times looked upon their Rulers as their natural leaders and spokesmen. The people of a State made and unmade their rules. The Ruler maintained himself in opposition to his people. Mutual trust and confidence was inevitable."* (*Princely India*, 7th March, 1930.)

Thus Pope rightly says:

> *" Forced into virtue thus by self-defence,*
> *Even Kings loved justice and benevolence,*
> *Self-love forsook the path it first pursued,*
> *And found the private in the public good."*

If the British people lend little support to the Princes, there is, however, a class of officials in India and the retired civilians in England, who are willing to back their claims. They are those who look with alarm on the growth of the popular movement and the gradual transfer to the peoples of India of the functions of government, functions which have for a century and more been performed by a closely guarded oligarchy. They believe in keeping the Princes in good humour by an indulgent indifference towards their moral delinquency and by backing their claims for sovereignty and non-interference in their internal affairs. This idea of treating the States as sheltered backwaters was recognised by Lord Minto. As admitted by the Directorate of the Chamber's special organisation in *The*

British Crown and the Indian States, Lord Minto was alarmed by the growth of the nationalist movement in India and he saw in the Princes a strong bulwork against subversive movement. He laid down that " the foundation stone of the whole system is the recognition of identity of interests between the Imperial Government and the Durbars and the minimum of interference with the latter in their own affairs " (p. 94) and inaugurated the dubious policy of consulting the Princes on matters affecting the welfare of India as a whole, of the Provinces as well as the States." (*Ibid,* p. 93). This last reasoning can be clearly discerned in the reports of the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission. A certain section of opinion, smaller but fairly influential, take a more ambitious view: If by some freak of fortune Gandhi succeeds in driving the Commander-in-Chief out of what is now British India, the retreating armies could seize the highlands of the States and there entrenched in wealth and the ignorance and apathy of the middle ages, enjoy for a century or more the joys of power and the pride of empire.

The true friends of the States and the Princes, however, are not to be found in either of the two sections of opinion noted above. As a certain Maharaja rightly told the readers of *Princely India,* " the best friends of Indian Princes are some of the foremost politicians. Indian Princes are Indians first and Indians who rise to high office are Indian patriots, who will be more considerate, more naturally respectful to us." There will be no delight to an Indian in position to humiliate us." (28th April 1927.) The advice of Mr. Chintamani to the Princes addressed as President of the Indian States Peoples' Conference (25th May 1929), is also worthy of note :

> " *I would again say to the ruling Princes, with the utmost respect but the greatest emphasis, that their best friends and sincerest well-wishers will be found not in the Indian Civil Service or in the Political Department or among Englishmen in general in India or England, but among their own countrymen, flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, equally among their own loyal subjects and among the public men of British India. It is this truth which they have to impress upon themselves.*"

But such advice generally falls on deaf ears. The alliance between the reactionaries persists in spite of the best reasons to the contrary. Why? Col. Powell's explanation is apparently not far from truth :

> " *My own guess is that the bureaucrats who run the India*

Office would prefer to see the Native States maintain something very like their present political status. And this from reasons of Imperial safety rather than from sentiment, for the Indian Princes, who, whether they like England or not, are bound to her by ties of self-interest. The British know that so long as the Princes remain loyal to their raj, *so long can the aspirations of the Nationalist be kept in bounds. And the Princes, for the main part, know that as long as Britain continues to give them her protection, to enforce their treaty rights, the wave of nationalism which is sweeping over British India will not be permitted to engulf their territories.*

In the final analysis the situation resolves itself not into a struggle between British and Indians, as most people suppose, but into a struggle between autocracy, as represented by the Princes and democracy as represented by the Nationalists. The immediate question is : How long can autocracy maintain its present position ? Of course, no intelligent person seriously doubts that democracy will be triumphant in the end." (Last Home of Mystery, p. 98.)

Sir M. Viseshwar Iyer, whose authority on matters relating to States is unimpeachable holds much the same views as Col. Powell. Writing recently in the press (*Hindustan Times,* 29th August, 1930) Sir M. Viseshwar Iyer pointed out :

" There is some kind of alliance and unity of purpose at the present time between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, mainly because the control of the subject populations is shared by them. A quarter of century ago, the Chief Minister of an important State, now living in honourable retirement, was questioned by the writer in regard to the general trend of administration of Indian States in those days and his answer was summed up in these words :—When the British Agent supported the Maharaja, the Maharaja became the Czar. When the Maharaja made mistakes and was at the same time disliked by the Agent, the Agent took control and became the Czar. Matters continued in this state down to the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms about the year 1910, after which the British Government gave the Princes some liberty of action presumably with a view to win their support in the fight against democracy and nationalism."

Mr. Benard Houghton, one of the great and genuine friends

that India has, also agrees with this analysis of the situation :

> "*Having proclaimed itself the Paramount Power, Simla exercises a certain supervision over all Indian Princes and Chiefs. Whilst correcting their worst observations it protects them alike from external force and from the outbursts of their long-suffering subjects. Further than this it does not go, for undue interference might strain that loyalty, which, as already noted, it is the cardinal object of British policy to secure.*"

These are not the only quarters in which sinister motives of the alliance between certain sections of the bureaucracy and the Princes are discernible. It is fairly widely recognised as an unholy alliance. That the alliance is a short-sighted policy in both quarters, there can be no doubt. To temporise is one of the great failings of human nature. At present both Princes and bureaucracy hope that the alliance will maintain their vested interests intact. They hope, by mutual support, to enjoy for some time longer the tinsels of dominion and the powers of office. Therefore, "Sweetheart we need each other!"

CHAPTER VI

Ulsters by the Hundred

We have reviewed in its various aspects the problem of the Princes, or, the "problem of the States", as it is generally referred to. We have seen that the State is deemed for all practical purposes to be the private property of the Prince. We have seen that there are virtually 562 Ulsters. We have seen how a great many principalities are administered, we have seen that the Paramount Government cannot be absolved from a responsibility for the maladministration. Through various pages we have indicated the necessity of an investigation by the Paramount Power into the affairs of various States to estimate how far the duties towards the millions under State rule have been discharged, we have seen that the claim of internal sovereignty is a claim for licence, we have seen that the Special Publicity Organisation is an organisation to mislead the British people, and the tale of the *scraps of paper* omits the point of the story.

What is the solution of all the difficulties of the problem ? We have undoubtedly the promise of the Ring-Emperor to " maintain unimpaired the rights and dignities " of the Indian Princes, a promise which would be binding on a Dominion Government. We have, on the other hand, the responsibilities of the Paramount Power not only in regard to defence, but as to internal good government also. We have alongside the admitted duties of kingship, clear evidence of misgovernment.

The Princes think of their treaty rights, the people of their miseries, the Indian people are busy with their own affairs, the British Press is glad to publish picturesque articles from members and associates of the Princes' "special organisation." The Viceroy is not ignorant of what is happening and politely hints at the necessity of reform whenever the opportunity occurs. But matters go thus far and no further.

The Butler Committee (para. 50) summarises the position as follows :

> "*The promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him, and to substitute another form of government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the conditions set out in the preceding paragraph. If they were due, not to misgovernment, but to a widespread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Prince; but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince. No such case has yet arisen, or is likely to arise if the Prince's rule is just and efficient, and in particular if the advice given by His Excellency Lord Irwin to the Princes, and accepted in principle by their Chamber, is adopted in regard to a fixed privy purse, security of tenure in the public services and an independent judiciary.*"

But the problem is beset with complications not solved by the Butler Committee. On the one hand is emphasized the paramountcy of the Government of India and its right to interfere for the benefit of India as a whole, on the other hand we have the creation of the 562 water-tight compartments independent of a Dominion Government. The Butler Committee therefore cleverly attempted a double solution. It has assured the paramountcy of the Government of India if the present conditions as to British Rule continue, but if there is radical change in the constitution of British India as a result of the Round Table Conference and India becomes a Dominion in the sense of Australia or Canada, the States pass out from the control of the Government of India. It is a subtle formula for a difficult proposition but no key to the intricacies of the problem.

Various solutions are offered. There is a small section of opinion which holds the simple belief that the only solution is liquidation of the present state administrations and their reconstruction as parts of the rest of India. There is the antonymous counterpart of this opinion, who would parcel British India among the states to be administered in a way indigenous to the East. But neither of these solutions is of any practical value. There is then the federal solution to which patriots on both sides look

forward as " an ultimate ideal." The goal is distant and the road difficult, but this is the favoured track—along this lies the hope of all those who have the best interests of India as a whole at heart.

2

Among such people is Sir Mirza Ismail, the wise counsellor of a model Prince.

Whether as a result of the Round Table Conference there will be as many Ulster problems in India as there are States, or whether there will be one or two or twenty short, it is impossible at this point of time to accurately forecast. Undoubtedly everybody hopes with Sir Mirza Ismail that the result of the Round Table Conference will be the " closer association between British India and the States" and that the representatives of the States will " appear before the British people not so much as representatives of States, still less as representatives of any particular State, but as Indians desiring for our common motherland a position of honour among the nations constituting the British Commonwealth." The sentiments indeed are laudable and not the first time expressed on behalf of the States. Thus it has been proclaimed on the public platform by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner that " Federation has no terrors for the Princes and governments of the States." The Maharaja of Alwar also hopes that the Round Table Conference is going to be " the harbinger of many right understandings, and as I devoutly hope, the satisfactory solution of the outstanding problems of all concerned." (*Asiatic Review*, January, 1930).

This is all to the good, but there are rifts in the lute. There is what the Simon Commission summarises as " all India is more than British India," that "India is not British India." The Butler Committee emphasizes that there are "two Indias," " made up of the pink and yellow." The hope of the Simon Commission is of " a gradual accretion by the units to a Federal scheme." There are 562 units, each a separate entity, whose co-operation and association with British India depends on its own free and individual consent. There are, therefore, 562 different consents to be obtained and there is no likelihood of these consents forthcoming unless as the " Joint Opinion " demanded and the Butler Committee conceded, the problems and the treaties of each State are separately reviewed. As to what this separate review implies, we are left to compute for ourselves. If the Nizam can reopen the

question of Berar, why cannot other members of his exalted order put the whole of India into the melting-pot? There must be some controversy about every inch of the map that is now coloured pink. The Maharaja of Patiala, not a hypocrite like some others of his fellow Princes, believes that India and the States are "at the parting of the ways,"—and maintains,:

> "*We (the States) naturally desire not merely to preserve our identity, but those rights which, as our treaties make apparent, were retained only after great sacrifices at the altar of difficult circumstances. In view of that fact the present position requires that we should do all that in us lies to regain any rights that may have been lost to us through various circumstances for which we were not responsible. Indeed, to do this, is a duty which we owe primarily to our subjects and also to our posterity, and we shall be unworthy representatives of our forebears if we flinch from this task.*" (*Asiatic Review*, January, 1930).

The Maharaja of Bikaner, while hoping for the best declares quite unequivocally that the Princes attach importance to "adequate guarantees and safeguards for the preservation and maintenance of their own honourable position as 'perpetual allies and friends!'" and "the States cannot be expected to agree to any proposals involving a violation of their treaties or infringement of their sovereign rights and internal autonomy and independence."

All these facts imply clearly that there are 562 groups of problems for Indian statesmanship to solve before the pink and yellow are merged into a common motherland. Sir Mirza Ismail may think that closer association is possible but the gulf is wider to-day than ever before. *Princely India* accurately summarised position last April:

> "*The fundamental questions that have to be solved, now that the Princes have declared that the legitimate goal of India is Dominion Status, are, who should be the representative of the Crown, in a self-governing India, so far as its relations with the Princes are concerned; whether there should be a change in those relations, and if so, in what direction; and whether and if so, how far it would be desirable to interfere with the internal administration of the backward States in order to effect needed reforms.*

"*The first question which is of the most paramount importance is decided so far by the Princes that they would not allow any interference with the treaty relations with the Crown, that the Crown would be represented by the Viceroy in any future Government of India, and that they would not submit themselves to any authority who might step into the shoes of the Viceroy in the Dominion of India. We have repeatedly shown in these columns that such an attitude is a negation of all ideas of Dominions Government, and that when the Princes say that they would not stand in the way of India attaining a Dominion form of Government, they do not mean what they say. Legally, constitutionally and according to International Law, the Princes are bound to accept as representative of the Crown that authority in Dominion of India which takes the place of the Viceroy, with all the implications of a country attaining Dominion Status, such as a Dominion Parliament and its Executive, and the Ministry in power in whom the affairs and relations with the Indian States would be vested.*" (11th April, 1930.)

3

Federation or some type of federation appears to be the generally accepted solution of the problem of India *cum* the States. Homage to this ideal is paid in most quarters. To the States according to their leading trumpeter, federation has no terrors. So long as their treaties are restored to their proper place and their free consent is taken, the Princes are willing to join a federation What the process of restoring the treaties and rectifying the grievances (" legitimate grievances "!) might imply, is better left to the pursuit of the imagination. It will be noted that the problems of each State have to be separately considered not on the basis of general principles, established by usage or such other bunk of the Political Department, but by the pure virgin principles of law, private or international.

As to what are the likely consequences of a re-examination of the individual affairs of the States and the real and imaginary encroachments by the Paramount Power is not at present fully comprehended. It may even involve painting the whole map yellow. In any case unless considerable territories and share in a general loot are ceded, there is absolutely no likelihood of anything like 562 " consents "—in the terminology of the Butler Committee—or 562 " accretions of units—in the Simon Commission terminology

forthcoming. In view of the practical impossibility of anything like such 562 adherences, the Maharaja of Bikaner is therefore quite accurate in describing federation as "an ultimate solution of the Indian problem and the ultimate goal—whenever circumstances are favourable and the time is ripe." (*Asiatic Review*, January, 1930). The Simon Commission also views the question of federation as an ultimate solution of the Indian problem, hoping that federation will form, "in time," the "solid and enduring bridge" joining the States to India. The Simon Commission knows it of the Princes and the Princes know it of the Simon Commission that neither is in a hurry to reach the ultimate goal. It is to the advantage of both to tarry as long as possible on the way—no wonder, therefore, that "federation has no terrors" for the Maharaja of Bikaner.

According to the same high authority "the States cannot be expected to agree to any proposals involving a violation of their treaties or infringement of their sovereign rights and internal independence and autonomy." (*Asiatic Review* January 1930). If, therefore, any constitution or federation maintains the right of the Princes to do what they like with their administrations—that is what internal independence and autonomy means—and if the British Army can see that they are not washed away by democracy, if they can help themselves to the profit of the Railways and the Post Offices and the Customs if they have more money to spend, and if Berar and other territories are returned, and further domains for the exercise of their sovereignty and autonomy are ceded, they are agreeable to join a federation. Who would not? If there is to be plenty of money, plenty of power, no responsibility and personal security and safety is inviolable, why should they not join a federation with their neighbours? Of course, on these terms the Chamber of Princes is agreeable to a federation. Is it not full of patriotic Indians, devoted to their motherland? Was not Brutus an honourable man?

4

It must be admitted that no small section of representative opinion is frankly dubious as to the practicability of a federal solution: certainly under the prevailing conditions. In the opinion of Lord Meston, "federation cannot cause oil and water to mix. Canada and Australia are federations, logical in structure though different in type. But what type or structure are we to find for a federation which is to unite Provinces under a democratic

system with States governed by absolute monarchs." A federal State, according to Professor Newton, is based upon a "federal constitution accepted by their citizens. The Central Government acts not only upon the associated States but also directly upon their citizens. Both the internal and external sovereignty is impaired." How can there be a federation if sovereignty is to be unimpaired? How will the majority, who have never known any law or been subject to law, who in their lives and in their public conduct are guided by no code of any sort, place themselves under and obey the mandates of the federal State. Lord Irwin sees no insuperable difficulty in the realisation of the federal idea if the object of all concerned is the same, namely, the welfare of the people. In the words of His Excellency:

> "*The machinery of government to-day in British India and the States is widely different. With you it is personal. However, this personal rule may be qualified and assisted by the advice of those summoned by the ruler to his counsels. We, on the other hand, have set the foot of British India upon the path that leads to such self-Government as permits the will of the majority of the electorate to become the repository of political power. If, however, the object of the Government is the same, namely, to promote the welfare of those committed to its care and if we may be agreed that whether exercised through one form of Government or another, the power is an instrument entrusted to our hands for public, not private, benefit, I should foresee no insuperable difficulty in devising means by which, in mutual respect, both British India and the States should join as partners to bring their peculiar gifts to India's feet.*" (*Bhopal,* 14th March, 1927.)

Yes, "If." To be a Man and to have "the world and all that's in it," Rudyard Kipling has immortalised several "ifs". There are many "ifs" to the federal solution of the Indian problem, but amonst the biggest is Lord Irwin's "if the object of Government is the same—namely, to promote the welfare of those committed to its care."

Through this book will be found evidence as to how far this object and these ideals are often carried into practice. If any more examples were needed, we might refer to the two startling cases of Shankar Pershad Dube and Sundarbai Pulshikar. In both cases, representations were made to the Government of India and were rejected.

Shankar Pershad Dube was a Mechanical Engineer by profession and the proprietor of a coach factory in Indore, which he worked personally with success for 16 years. In this factory were built several of the State coaches. Suddenly on the 8th October, 1920, Dube received a visit from the City Superintendent with a *posse* of police constables at his residential house, which, by the way, was outside the jurisdiction of the Indore City Police. Shankar Pershad Dube was given to understand, without any order in writing being shown to him, that in pursuance of the orders of His Highness, the entire immovable property of the Dube family had been declared confiscated to the State, and he was asked to vacate and hand over all such property within two hours from the receipt of the oral order. The Notification confirming the action of the City Superintendent appeared on the 8th of November, 1920, *i.e.*, a month after the confiscation of the property of the Dube family. The *Gazette* stated : " The Dube family, as represented by Ram Parshad and his brother, have proved treacherous and disloyal and the steps taken against Ram Parshad and his brother Madho Parshad have not proved corrective. His Highness has arrived at the conclusion that the family of the Dube Brothers is passed redemption." " In view of the above consideration, His Highness has been pleased to order the confiscation of the landed property, both *Inam* and other of the Dube family as represented by the late General Balmokand Dube in the State and forefathers of the same to Government." It was nowhere shown that Shankar Parshad Dube, the owner of the Indore Carriage Works, had béen guilty of disloyalty or treachery, and yet because the Maharaja supposed that some members of the Dube family were disloyal to him, the property of the whole family was confiscated. This is a remarkable instance of the type of law administered in the States.

The second case, that of Sunderbai Pulshikar, comes also from the same State. It is necessary only to state briefly the details. This girl was married to one of the hereditary Dewans of the Indore State, who was subject to epileptic fits. The marriage was dissolved under the orders of His Highness on the ground that an epileptic man was not capable of contracting a marriage. But he was soon after married again under the orders of His Highness and given a son twenty years old in adoption. The petitions sent by the unfortunate Sundarbai Pulshikar to the Government of India received no support. These appeared in the press and created wide public sympathy. Her petition to the Viceroy (14th September, 1922) is also interesting in two other particulars. She

refers to the " kidnapping of girls" and alleges, " nobody can do things that His Highness has done in the whole of the British Empire. After all it is the British army that keeps His Highness on his *Gaddi*. If that protection were withdrawn, the people of Indore would settle the question in a week."

Lord Irwin may refer to Eastern autocracy as " personal rule." Nicholson and the Special Organisation of the Chamber of Princes as " internal autonomy." The Nawab of Bhopal may even refer to it as type of " responsible Government " and His Highness of Bikaner as based essentially on Hindu ideals of kingship. A spade may be called a horticultural implement. The Simon Commission may rebaptize " backward tracts " as " excluded areas." What is in a name ? A mental hospital for all this is a lunatic asylum. What Lord Irwin politely terms as " personal rule," the Simon Commission describes as " autocratic " rule. The Butler Committee classify the States as " patriarchal, quasi-feudal and purely autocratic " (para 11). In the eyes of Col. Haksar, his late Ruler was the " absolute master of three and a quarter million people." (*Asiatic Review*, January, 1930, p. 105). Whatever expression we apply to describe the status of a ruling Prince in relation to his subjects, we cannot improve on the admitted description of a Co-director of the Princes' Special Publicity Organisation. Another word for " absolute master " is "proprietor " and that is the term used by the Indian State subjects in their description of the government of an average Indian State. As the authors of the Nehru Report correctly point out (page 86) that " so long as this characteristic feature of the personal rule does not undergo a material change, the expression Indian State must be taken to mean the individual ruling prince concerned ! "

While the Princes and the Simon Commission talk of federation as the ultimate ideal to be realized in the due measure of time, the people of the States " desire union with British India and would cheerfully be units of the federal government of the future. The people of Indian States entertain absolutely no suspicions about their brethren in British India. The Indian Princes, through their legal advisers and supporters, have betrayed distrust about British India people and are afraid that their position, prestige and *izzat* and honour would suffer by any contract with self-governing India." *Memorandum to the Butler Committee*).

The attitude of the States people and its *raisan d'etre* is

explained by Mr. Pannikar, himself a minister in an important State and now Secretary to the Princes' delegation to the Round Table Conference:

> " *But the people of the Indian States are entirely united in supporting the Nationalist demand for Home Rule. They recognize that their own outlook is now limited; their own activities circumscribed, their own abilities without proper field of action, and that such it would remain as long as British India is not self-governing. They recognise clearly that their own weal or woe is bound up for ever with the fate of the rest of India and a limited provincial outlook to-day is treason to the motherland.*"

The people of India have the warmest sympathy of the subjects of the Indian Princes. Thus says Mr. Srinavas Iyengar, ex-President of the Indian National Congress:

> " *The population of the Indian States is somewhat less than a third of the population of British India. The identity of sentiment and civilization, of interest and aspiration, between the two is unaffected by political barriers; and echoes of our Swaraj movement are heard in the States. The people of British India, when they are fighting for Swaraj, are entitled to have the Indian States brought into line with British India.*"

These sentiments were reiterated by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in his Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress in December, 1929.

The Report of the All-Parties Conference, popularly referred to as the Nehru Report, met with wide approval and support in Indian public opinion. But among the severest critics of the report were the subjects of the Indian States who considered the report as defective, inasmuch, as it did not definitely recommend a federation of the States with British India. It may be asked why the people of the Indian States are so anxious about a federation with British India? The answer is in the query why should the Maharaja of Bikaner " be gratified at nothing that the scope of the Conference is to be confined either to British India or All-India problems, and that questions purely of domestic concern affecting the internal autonomy of the States have been wisely eliminated"? (*Asiatic Review*, January, 1930, p. 9.)

6

This leads us to the only workable solution if federation is not to be relegated to the category of a mere ideal. It must be pointed out in passing that there are a few States who are reported to be ready to join a federation at once with a full recognition of all that federation implies. Among such States is Mysore. The Maharaja of Bikaner and others of his school of thought, however, while bravely declaring that federation has no terrors for them, would postpone the realisation of this ideal to a far and remote time. In the meanwhile, what is asked for is a recognition of the full internal sovereignty and independence of the States. We would be failing in our duty if we hesitated in saying that in a majority of the States, a transitory period of this nature would be nothing short of a crime against civilization.

It is agreed that the situation is not free from difficulties. The only solution for the transitory period which faces the difficulties with which the question is fraught, is to be found as number 6 of the demands of the States subjects to the Butler Committee: "*The States people demand that until responsible government is established in the States, a commission like the Permanent Mandates Commission should be instituted to prevent misuse of the powers wielded by the rulers.*" The demand, in other words, is that until the States are ready for internal autonomy and federation, they should be administered under the Mandate system.

A Mandate in Roman law is a contract constituted by one person promising something gratuitously at the request of another, who undertakes to indemnify him against loss. The Mandate system created by Art. 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was applied by the Allies in regard to the Colonies of the German and Turkish Empires. It was believed that these colonies had been subjected to misrule, and pledges had been given to some that the Allies were fighting for rights of small nations, and that they would be freed from the yoke of alien domination. At the end of the War the Allies wanted to liquidate their pledges to these peoples but these peoples were not generally considered as ready to take a position among the more advanced nations. The Mandate system was devised to meet the difficulty. The Mandate was, therefore, constituted as " a sacred trust of civilization to be assumed by nations who (*inter alia*) by reason of their resources can best undertake the responsibility and are willing to accept it."

In the Indian States we have every ground and justification for the introduction of a Mandatory System. We have misrule, we have the promises to the people that British Government cannot over-look misrule, we have the promises to the Princes and we have the alruistic declarations that annexation is not the aim of British policy, we have the sacred trust of civilization declared time and again not merely for 260 millions but for all 320 millions of the Indian peòple.

The Mandatory System instituted for the States should satisfy all parties. The subjects of the States would welçome it as a definite step towards a rule of law and responsiblé government, India would welcome it as constituting one authority with whom questions of inter-importance could be negotiated, rather than five hundred and sixty-two. The Princes should not have much objection as the system will bring them into closer relations with the King-Emperor and the Crown, a point they are never tired of pressing.

It is not necessary to place all States in the same class. The League of Nations recognises three classes of Mandates. Firstly, of those States whose independence can be provisionally recògnized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance until they are able to stand alone. Secondly, States in which the Mandatory is responsible for the administration and undertakes to promote the moral and material welfare of the people. Thirdly, such State which "can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territories, subject to the safeguards in the interest of the indigenous population."

A Royal Commission could settle, without much difficulty, to which class any particular State belongs.

7

As to the claims of the Princes on the subject of the financial and economical relations of British India and the States, we have summarized elsewhere the recommendations of the Butler Committee. Here, too, the Butler Committee failed the Princes, for it did little more than recommend the constitution of an expert Committee, to enquire into the reasonableness of the claims of the States or groups of States to a share in the custom revenues and the adequacy of their contribution to Imperial burdens. The Committee has recently been appointed, but at the time of writing,

its report is not available. Here, too, it must be regretted that there is no representative of the Indian tax-payer on the Committee, though a nominee of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes has a seat. An effort was made to secure a representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, but without success. Such matters are lamentably decided *ex parte* of the people of India. Sir Shivaswami Iyer has examined the question closely and his conclusions are generally adverse to the claims of the Princes, but it should not be supposed that the Indian tax-payers have any desire that the tax-payers of the States should be at a disadvantage. But the case of the States is not as conclusive as the Princes would have us believe, and the subject requires to be examined thoroughly by a competent and impartial body—both the States and British India agreeing to abide by the result, whether it may or may not conform to the preconceived notions of either party.

Whatever the results of this enquiry, it should be perfectly clear that any advantage accruing to the Princes will be earmarked for the beneficial departments of the States and will not be utilised towards swelling the "privy purses" of individual Princes.

8

The Round Table Conference will have no easy task in deciding the issues relating to the States. On the one hand the Conference is charged with finding a workable constitution for the whole of India, and on the other, the administrations of considerable territories are placed beyond the pale and survey of its discussions. One does not envy the task of the Conference. The issue will hinge upon the problem: "Does the ruler represent the State as proprietor, and as proprietor, is his free to deal with his property as he pleases, or is he merely a trustee of certain powers which have to be exercised for the benefit and welfare of the State?" The answer, one way or another, will go a long way to the solution or aggravation of the difficulties of the problem. If the answer to the proposition is that the Ruler comes in the capacity of a proprietor, then no more need be said. If, however, this is not so, and the other alternative applies, namely, that the Ruler is only a *summus magistratus* and the government of the State is a *commission du peuple*, then Sir Malcolm Hailey is right when he tells the Nawab of Rampur "the permanence of the Indian State System, like that of all political institutions, will depend in the

long run on the degree of contentment and satisfaction which it can convey to those for whose benefit it must be held to exist." (*Rampur*, 27th August, 1930). The same sound opinion was voiced by His Highness the Ruler of Mandi when he declared, "the Princes need have no fear of the future, if they cared a little more for running their governments on constitutional lines and a little less for their own personal pleasures." (*Mandi*, 21st August, 1930.)

When the Princes discuss their internal sovereignty and autonomy and insist (as set out in the "Joint Opinion") that they are "sovereign states," that "the relationship of each State to the Crown is and has been since the time of the first treaty between the two, purely contractual," that the idea of the right to "resort to paramountcy as an unlimited reservoir of discretionary authority over the Indian States is based upon a radical misconception of what paramountcy means"; and the cry of the Maharaja of Bikaner is that "in their internal affairs the States must demand to be at least as autonomous as is claimed for the British Indian Provinces"; one would imagine that the internal sovereignty of these rulers had been seriously and wantonly intruded upon. One would imagine that the British Government had seriously interfered with their administrations, their budgets and their legislation. One would imagine that they had wanted to do well by their subjects, only the interference of the meddlesome officials in Simla had made this impossible. We have no brief for the Political Department, but is this true?

It is common ground that except to obtain economic concessions or promote railways and other similar enterprises, there has been little interference in the actual management of the States. It is true that Lord Curzon rode them on the curb rather than on the scuffle, but it is also true that only when administrations have come to their last pennies in bankruptcy or have been guilty of the vilest misdeeds, has the British Government interfered. It is the complaint, of State subjects, that the British Government has not interfered enough and has not discharged its obligations by them. What is therefore the internal autonomy and sovereignty the Rulers ask for? Have they not had the fullest autonomy in management of their domestic affairs in so far as they relate to the welfare and happiness of their subjects? Internal autonomy is the right and authority over matters of domestic concern. It may, on the other hand, imply mere licence without responsibility. Is this what the Rulers ask for? Of course, Their Highnesses say, no. Of course, their patriotism and public spiritedness is beyond doubt.

The readers of this book know that Brutus was an honourable man and more. And so do the State subjects. Whether the British people know it or not is another matter.

It would be interesting to have the answer of the Chamber of Princes to a few pertinent questions:

> *Has there been any handicap or impediment in the establishment of an efficient administration or a reliable and honest public service or improvement in the economic and physical well-being of the people?*

> *Has there been any handicap or impediment in the introduction and spread of education, the establishment of hospitals, and efficient judiciary and careful husbandry of finances?*

What more in the substance does internal sovereignty or autonomy imply? The true test of any administration is not the measure of its powers but how the powers already enjoyed have been exercised. The present position, granted everything about the encroachments of the Paramount Power on treaty rights, has not prevented States like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and some others from making substantial progress towards, what may for short be represented as the economic and political uplift and advancement of their peoples. If Mysore and others of this class can set up efficient administrations, there is no reason why such administrations should not be the rule rather than the exception. And yet says Mr. Pannikar, " Principalities tend to become personal states with all the oppression following on a government based on a proprietary analogy. Their governments are *zenana*-ridden. Their politics are merely backstair intrigue. Favouritism and corruption reign supreme. The smaller the State is, the worse generally is its condition. There are, of course, well-governed exceptions."

This is in spite of the remarkable tolerance of the Government of India towards their affairs or as Sir M. Visheswar Iyer, one of the most distinguished authorities on State affairs, says:

> *" The Rulers of Indian States have hitherto carried an autocratic or semi-autocratic rule within their territories to the extent permitted by the Paramount Power. The majority of the Princes, though not unwilling to participate in the responsibilities and privileges of a Central Government, have*

shown little enthusiasm, so far to introduce Responsible Government within their States."

9

We have already examined the constitutional position elsewhere. The Princes who want their relations with the Paramount Power revised in terms of 'legal criteria,' those who want absolute internal sovereignty and complete autonomy as to their internal affairs must be told in unequivocal terms that there can be, as we have stated elsewhere, no law for the lawless, that they cannot be conceded absolute and final internal autonomy unless they show by results that they are fit to discharge the responsibilities of rulers. England may lay great importance by the sanctity of treaties, but it would be a poor opinion of the British nation to say that it would not scrap a treaty if it meant the promotion of the ideals which make the Commonwealth a possibility. The story of the treaties is a weak appeal to sentiment. Most of these (only forty-one in number) were made when India was in the melting pot and only one since the Crown assumed the Paramountcy. In the changing cycles of the years, the treaties, have ceased to count for practical worth.

At every step in the constitutional advance of the Indian people, the British Parliament claims the right to review the progress made and to decide the measure of the new reforms. The British Parliament claims to be the trustee of the 320 millions of Indian people most of whom are declared to be voiceless. Has the trust in respect of the 60 millions been ever surveyed. Not only has the British Parliament and the British Government claimed to be interested in the welfare of the people to India as a whole, but the British Government is, morally and in international law, responsible for the moral and material welfare of the peoples of the States. It is true that a survey of conditions in the Indian States was beyond the purview of the authority of the Butler Committee. This is equally true of the Simon Commission. But is there never to be contributed a tribunal before which their Highnesses may be asked to give an account of their trusteeship. If "fitness to govern" is the criterion of constitutional advance in India, why should not the same standard be applied to the general body of the Princely order?

While certain sections of the press are always on the look-out for mistakes of administration in British India, little or no notice

is taken of affairs in States. Even to quarters like the Statutory Commission and the Butler Committee, the government of the States is a matter of minor importance. Typical of this light-heartedness is para. 15 of the Report of the Butler Committee :

> "*For long they stood upon the ancient ways but they too have been swept by the breath of the modern spirit. Their efforts to improve their administrations on the lines generally followed in British India have already in many cases been attended with conspicuous success. Of the 108 Princes in class I, 30 have established legislative councils, most of which are at present of a consultative nature only ; 40 have established High Courts more or less on British India models ; 34 have separated executive from judicial functions ; 56 have a fixed privy purse ; 46 have started a regular graded civil list of officials ; and 54 have pension or provident fund schemes. Some of these reforms are still no doubt inchoate, or on paper and some States are still backward, but a sense of responsibility to their people is spreading among all the States and growing year by year. A new spirit is abroad. Conditions have very largely charged in the last twenty years.*"

The value of this paragraph, as a historical record, may be judged from the qualification admitted that some of the reforms introduced are " no doubt inchoate " and merely " on paper." The true value of the paragraph may be judged on the same facts by reversing the premises. Assuming everything the Butler Committee say as correct it would appear, that out of 562 States as many as 532 have not established legislative councils of any kind, not even on paper. Out of 562, more than 520 have no High Court or superior Judicial Tribunal, in 528 States executive and judicial duties are performed by the same individuals, 500 have still to fix a privy purse, 576 are without proper service rules. On the whole well over 500 States out of the 562 have not introduced any of the reforms mentioned by the Butler Committee ; of those that have many are still " no doubt inchoate."

It is easy for a Prince to stress his loyalty, as it is easy to say that he has established a Legislative Council or fixed his Privy Purse. The Legislative Council may never meet, or may dispose of a whole year's work in two short plenary sessions. The Privy Purse is the new name for an old habit.

Egus generis of this type of humbug please read the following

precious record at page 19 of the Bikaner Administration Report for the year 1927-28 :

> " *The greatest sanctity is attached to rigid adherence to a settled Privy. Purse. The proportion which the combined incidence of Privy Purse and Civil List bears to the total Revenues of the State, which last year was slightly in excess of 11 per cent. has this year been reduced to only 10·21 per cent. and with the annual increments in the State Revenues which are anticipated as a blessing from the Gang Canal this proportion is sure to go in the fullness of time below the ideal limit of 10 per cent. in the next year or two. There are several other important details connected with this resettlement of His Highness' Privy Purse and Civil List affecting fundamental rights of the State and of the Ruler and his family which are still under the consideration of His Highness and his government, and His Highness looks forward with pleasure and eagerness to the day when he would feel it his proud privilege to admit his loving subjects into his fullest confidence on this point and place out of his free will and pleasure before the Legislative Assembly fully evolved principles and detailed facts and figures on the subject which would serve as a useful index of his solicitude for the well-being of his people and also a guide for the future.*"

In precis this lecture means no more than that His Highness, in his great love for his beloved subjects, has resolved to establish a Privy Purse in limit to his wants—in the fullness of time. Like federation it is the " ultimate ideal " of Bikaner's hopes. God Save the Gang Canal for the Utopia of 10 per cent. depends upon its dividends. Devout is this prayer of the beloved subjects of this enlightened, progressive and democratic ruler. " God Save the Canal " for if the canal bursts its banks, it takes the Privy Purse with it !

Another instance of how Princes march with the times may be cited with figures from the Administration Reports of the State of Khairpur. The annual income of the State is between 25 or 28 lacs. In 1925-26 the personal expenses of the Ruler were Rs. 4,99,000 excluding Rs. 1,85,000 spent " on the maintenance of the State dignities." The collection for the year was roughly 25 lacs. In the next financial year, *i.e.*, 1926-27, the revenue fell to 23 lacs. The personal expenses of the Ruler were Rs. 3,57,000 and the expenses on the State dignity, Rs. 1,25,000. But the

payment to certain members of the royal family increased from Rs. 72,000 to Rs 1,98,000. In 1928 His Highness took the lump-sum of Rs. 4,20,000 towards his private expenses. He also received the sum of Rs. 1,00,000 for his marriage (not the first) and Rs. 61,000 for maintenance of State dignities. The maintenance of the Ruling family again showed an increase rising to Rs. 2,30,000 from Rs. 1,98,000 in the previous year. The total amount spent on the Ruler and his family was Rs. 10,50,000 including Rs. 60,000 for the royal stables and motor cars. The revenue for the year was Rs 26½ lacs. In 1928-29 it was decided to fix a Privy Purse and become modern. Hence the "Privy Purse" appears for the first time. This is shown at 4,20,000. The wives of this illustrious Ruler are separately accounted for. A sum of Rs. 1,14,000 went to meet the expenses of these royal ladies, and Rs. 1,78,000 to other members of the royal family. A Finance Member lent by the Government of India accounted for a reduction in the motors and stables from Rs. 60,000 to Rs. 20,000, maintenance of His Highness' dignity was reduced to Rs. 32,000, but His Highness was allowed a Private Secretary costing Rs. 20,000 per year. The nett result for 1928-29 was Rs. 8,00,000, but the State revenue was also down by 3½ lacs. The percentage therefore remained much the same, between 35 per cent. and 40 per cent. in spite of Privy Purse and a Finance Officer lent by the Indian Government.

Some other facts about this "model" State are forthcoming. In 1928-29 the amount spent on education, and public health of 1,93,000 people was the sum of Rs. 1,33,000 or just about as much spent on the royal ladies. His Highness' marriage in the year 1927-28 would, according to the figures, have paid for the Medical and Sanitation Department of the State for three years. In 1926-27 His Highness twice went out of the State once for six days and the other for four days. The ten day' tour is stated to have cost the State Rs. 54,000 or more than the whole cost of the Judicial and Jail Departments of the State! Not very different samples of "moving with the times" can be cited from the Administration Reports of many other States.

A few months ago, a Prince visited Simla for a short visit of four days. His Highness' expenses were as follows:

(1)	Transport of 23 cars from State to Kalka ...	Rs.	4,300
(2)	and back	,,	4,300
(3)	Haulage of saloon	,,	1,050
(4)	Railway fare of staff	,,	1,370

(5) One eighteen-seater Rail Motor going and coming	... ...	Rs.	720
(6) Hotel	... ...	,,	4,500
(7) Miscellaneous	... ...	,,	7,000
	Total ...	Rs.	23,240

This is the type of frugal living about which the Maharaja of Rajpipla vexed eloquence to the London *Daily Mail*.

In the face of such evidence, it is difficult to know upon what data the optimism of the Butler and Simon Committees are based. It is true that the Princes, as a whole, realise that there is a new spirit abroad in the land ; but it is not true that the majority or even a large number are genuinely anxious to mould their administrations to the requirements of the times. Some iterate and reiterate their loyalty to the Crown, their allegiance to the King-Emperor as if the loyalty or allegiance is a marketable commodity for the purchase of immunity from the consequences of misrule. Others still cling fondly to the tags of forgotten archives.

CHAPTER VII

The Pathology of Princes

" The State of................has an area of 880 sq. miles and annual revenue of 6½ lacs. The present Ruler is a young man of hardly 25 years. He was invested with ruling powers about six years ago. His reign has been a story of unpardonable extravagance on theatres, dancing girls, oppression of State subjects, etc.

" The Maharaja has never evinced any interest in the administration of his State. The State officials are free to do anything they like. When he was invested with full ruling powers the State treasury was full and the people were contented and happy. But in the space of three and a half years' administration the State became bankrupt ; the cultivators bleeded ; State servants' pay fell in arrears. All this is due to the Maharaja's madness for theatres and dancing girls. Surrounded by selfish intriguers in the guise of advisers the young Ruler's carnal cravings were pandered to by these self-seekers to their best advantage. The Maharaja freely and fully gave himself up to all sorts of vices. Drinking and debauchery made him unfit to attend to his State affairs. Women of questionable character found a safe shelter under the generous patronage of the young Prince.

" His Highness has engaged one ' A ' to write a drama and this man is regulary paid Rs. 1,700 a month. The Maharaja has a permanent theatrical Co. and the dancing girls are paid punctually on the........of every month. The salaries of the State servants are in arrears, and in February last, the Mahraraja got a loan somehow or other, and they were paid till the end of December.

" The natural sequence of non-payment of their salaries is

oppression of State subjects by State servants, and little wonder that the officers and their subordinates resort to all means and methods of extortion. Their grievances and representations fall flat on the heartless Ruler.

"The young Ruler finds no time to attend his work of the State. He gets up at 10 in the morning and spends his time in the company of his favourite dancing girls. A prostitute from Delhi is now enjoying the position and privileges of a Maharani in.................This young prostitute is paid Rs. 1,000 a month and she too receives her pay regularly on the 1st of every month. The Maharaja, who is mad after this prostitute of Delhi, spends most of the day and the night in her company."

The report appeared not so very long ago in the fearless columns of *Princely India*. Names and details we omit on the principle followed throughout this book that it is not an attack on individual Princes or States. When a journal, many years ago, attacked the morals of King George for having contracted a morganatic marriage with an Admiral's daughter, His Majesty went to the ordinary courts, took his stand in the witness-box, waived all the privileges of his position and proved the report to be a lie. Several papers in various parts of India make it their business to publish reports of the administrations of particular States. These reports create local sensations, but no public enquiry is ever held or faced into the allegations. In the absence of such enquiries the public cannot be blamed for assuming that the details published are true or substantially true. What is the number of derilect rulers or maladministered States is also in the absence of careful enquiry difficult of precise estimation. We may debate, the Government of India may temporise, but judging from the proceedings of the Indian State Peoples' Conferences, there is no doubt on such matters in the minds of the majority of State subjects. The time and the opportunity are not such as they can dare ventilate in any detail their grievances. After a reading of this book one can estimate what these might be. "No wonder," declares Mr. Ranga Iyer, "British rule in India is more popular than that of the Maharajas. Tell Indians that England would to-morrow parcel out India into so many little States under Maharajas, and thus make the whole of India hitherto directly under the British as self-governing States, and see what happens. The whole country will rise in revolt against that shocking suggestion. Take away the protecting arm of Britain from these medieval Maharajas, and

their subjects, who have been groaning under their unspeakable meanness and tyranny, will overthrow them in one single week." No wonder Sundarabai Pulshikar told Lord Reading, "After all it is the British Army that keeps His Highness on his *Gaddi*. If that protection were withdrawn, the people would settle the question in a week."

2

The facts stated in these pages in some small measure reveal to what extent the Princes govern for the welfare of their subjects, how far they seriously put theories into the practice of administration. But these pages constitute a fringe of the truth. The archives of the Government of India, if ransacked, would yield tales of horrors, the like of which have possibly never been recounted—tales of debauchery, tyranny and vice. Commissions and Viceregal visits have come and gone, Committees have been appointed for every purpose but the welfare of the millions of Indian State subjects. As it was beyond the purview of the Simon Commission, as it was not included in the terms of reference of the Butler Committee, so the interests and rights of a third of the country have been forgotten and are unrepresented before the Round Table Conference. The world only knows the few hundred "royalty" who travel about in special trains, who bedeck themselves in tissues and emeralds, whose cups are painted with the gilt of opulence and filled with the goods of manna. Nobody thinks, alas! of the several million silent sufferers, God's forgotten waifs.

If any further evidence were needed, we have the opinion of experienced State administrators like Sir Albion Bannerji, who finds the people "governed like dumb driven cattle." D. V. Gokhale, presiding over the seventh session of the Deccan State Peoples' Conference said, "being a State subject myself, I have gone through the rigours and the withering chills of the autocratic administration that throttles all attempts made by the subjects to secure for them even some of the elementary rights of citizenship. I consider it, therefore, a privilege to be called upon to serve my brethren in their righteous cause."

Princely India writing editorially recently on Inherited Despotism said, "many of the Princes are under an illusion that they can go on with the trade of oppression so long as they please the tin gods of the Political Department of the Government of India. Although many Princes boast of their enlightenment and demo-

cratic spirit they often appear to be despicable despots." "Where frailty sits enthroned, it is vain to expect prudence or judgment in the public acts of the Ruler. The subjects have therefore to be prepared for lordly mansions to be erected at fabulous expense out of the taxes extorted from them only to be demolished a couple of years afterwards to satisfy the freaks of man in whose charge Providence has found fit to place their desiny: for Rolls Royce cars to be got down in dozens, sometimes to be auctioned even before they have had a trial ride; for roads to be laid out at enormous expense only to be shut out from the footfall of even pedestrians. All the grandeur which the obliging visitors from the Political Department discover, refers to things of this kind. The real condition of the people whose sweated labour and hard earned cash are pressed into the service of an insatiable despot, is one of definite poverty and wretchedness."

In the same journal a correspondent asks: "The medieval theory that a State is the private property and its people the slaves of the Ruler, is long since out of date. Anybody who persisted in advancing such a theory now, would be looked upon as an imbecile or a lunatic. But is there any lack of Indian Princes who, though careful not to avow such a policy, are daily putting it in practice in these times of enlightenment? And is the Indian public unaware of the appalling misery, suffering and foul-play which falls to the lot of the people in States in consequence of this blessed theory and in practice? (*Princely India,* 15th June, 1928).

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in the course of a lengthy statement to the Associated Press repudiating the charges levelled against the authors of the Nehru Report by the Maharaja of Bikaner said, "I maintain that cases came to my notice from some States, and some of them have attracted public notice also, which are strongly reminiscent of medieval times. If friendly criticism like this, with sincere appreciation of some features of the Indian States and the capacity of some Ministers, can lead to resentment, all I can say is that His Highness will look in vain for even best friends of States in British India who will be prepared to say that everything is all right in every Indian State." We have had the testimony of Colonel Alexander Powell and other impartial observers. Mr. Ranga Iyer, in his famous book, *India : Peace or War?* reiterates the view-point of the Indian State subjects:

"*Again the ultimate appeal of the British Indian subject*

> *was to the British democracy and its traditions. The State subject, on the other hand, has to deal with the Maharaja, whose traditions and instincts are opposed to democracy in any form. Benevolent autocracy is the* ne plus ultra *of perfection to which any State subject can aspire. The best Maharajas generally would like to play the role of benevolent despots, but where the Maharaja is good but weak, and the Dewan (Prime Minister) unscrupulous and strong, there is neither honesty nor justice nor fairplay in the administration. British India, it is no exaggeration to say, is a thousand times better than the Native States, alike in the matter of justice and fairplay."*

The *Leader* of Allahabad, one of the most cautious and sober members of the journalistic fraternity, published on 31st August, 1922, an article descriptive of the government of an Indian State. The gist was " an incredible, irresponsible, autocratic power of a single individual working in an injurious and mischievous manner inflicting on the State lasting injuries and checking its progress indefinitely." The article suggested as a remedy the abolition of the rule by the Princes.

3

These authorities, as also many others, cited in this pathology of the Princes, constitute the main justification for this work. Perhaps the good has not been fully emphasized but the fact that this exists in several States has been admitted over and over again. This book is not a wanton attack, its object is to serve a definite public purpose. On the night of the publication of the list of the delegates to the Round Table Conference, the author was dining at the Cecil Hotel in Simla. The names of the delegates and the prospects of the Conference were on every lip. The outlook was not an optimistic one. It was generally felt that on the question of the Princes, the fair hopes of the Conference would be wrecked. Several independent opinions were expressed in the same strain, two of these were by men very high in the tables of precedence. It was not known to any one of them that this book was in preparation at the time. The problem that Indian statesmanship has to face is the problem of the new-styled allies of John Bull, who, to maintain their license and their privileges, are not likely to hesitate in bartering away the interests of the country at large.

The danger has been a growing one. The maladministration

of certain principalities is an important if somewhat secondary matter. This book, as already pointed out in chapter I, is not intended as an attack on any individual Prince or State. Scrupulous regard has been maintained throughout these pages to avoid any intrusions upon domains not strictly within the limits prescribed by the subject. All references to personalities as such have been rigorously censored. Particular instances of despotism and vice have been cited merely as illustrative of the propositions enumerated. The authorities cited have been confined to sources whose impartiality and veracity are beyond question. But even here names have been excluded, where the reports are likely to cause any pain or embarrassment to members of this exalted Order. This rule has been followed even where the scandals referred to are already public property.

The problem of the Princes is a great problem with momentous potentialities for good or bad. It is as important to India as it is to the subjects of the States. The key to the solution of the problem lies in the hands of John Bull. It is not for us to dictate to this old gentleman of commonsense. All this book intends to point out is the characteristics of the alliance, if alliance is intended. All we have to say is, "A trifle more discrimination in the matter of your particular friendships, John Bull. It will repay you many times over. The easy path is not necessarily the wise path and temporary advantage may be purchased at too high a price."

In many quarters it is firmly believed that our friend, John Bull, is too indulgent with his pseudo-allies, the Princes. We have noted the grievances of the subjects of the States, we have noted the view-point of independent observers, we have seen the view-point expressed from time to time in clear terms in the press. In this general consensus of opinion must be included the Banks and Business-houses of the country. Banks will not invest against securities situated in State territory either to individuals or to a State, except where diplomatic sanction may be forthcoming in greater or less degree. The absence of a rule of law of an independent judiciary make this inevitable. There is also the general widely recognised complaint of Business-houses, who have great difficulty in realising their dues. Bills are often not paid for years and not infrequently large debts contracted in British India are repudiated. There is no remedy either in or out of India against a Ruler or a State. A suit lies against the Secretary of State for the negligence, misconduct or undertakings of the Crown and its

servants and the Courts in India often give decisions adverse to the Crown and in favour of the subject which are loyally discharged by Government. But these members of the Princely Order are beyond the pale of any law, private or international. These and other anachronisms might also be considered by the Round Table Conference.

The writing of this study in pathology has not been a pleasant task. There is so much propaganda, however, for and on behalf of the Chamber of Princes that the truth had to be told. The vendetta against self-governing institutions in British India, conducted under the patronage of the Chamber of Princes, is without the slightest justification. Can the Princes afford to snigger at affairs of administration in India ? The truth has been told in these pages, at times ugly, at times hideous. But for all that the truth. In equally plain language, Mr. John Bull has been reminded that preoccupied with Iraq and Palestine, East Africa and Arabia, he has forgotten his trusteeship towards the real Indian States. As Sir M. Visheswar Iyer rightly points out: In the case of the Indian States the Commissioners are for the maintenance of the *status quo*. To them the Princes in the States are everything and the subjects nothing and it has not occurred to them that the States' subjects are also likely to have ambitions and desires for the betterment of their condition." (*Hindustan Times*, 29th August, 1930).

It may satisfy the Simon Commission if certain minor reforms are introduced. The Viceroy may courteously warn them, but as Sir Malcolm Hailey pointed out at *Rampur* (27th August 1930), " The permanence of the States system will depend on the progress made along the well-chartered highways of progress, for if there is no definite attack on the principle of autocracy, yet certainly the future will produce a progressive insistent demand for many of those things which are held to be secured by systems administered in the spirit of popular Government. There will be a demand for fixed code of law variable only after consultation with representative bodies, if not actually regulated by their vote; for courts of justice manned by an expert personnel removable only for definite misdemeanous ; for administrative services carefully recruited and maintained on conditions which will secure standards of probity and impartiality ; for taxation systematically graduated to meet the capacity of different classes to bear the burden imposed on them ; for avenues for the free expression of public opinion and for guarantees that the maximum available of the state resources

shall be expended on the intellectual, physical and material advancemenr of the people. Whatever may have been the case in former times, contentment and satisfaction will not now be attained unless these requirements can be met in some reasonable degree. There is in the Indian States an innate attachment to tradition and a deep-seated loyalty which burns like a religious flame round the person of the Ruler, a heaven-send gift placed in his hands for securing the happiness and maintaining the affection of his people. But in the days which are coming on us, these will not avail him unless he can give proof of a serious desire to meet demands dictated by a belief in the benefits which can be secured elsewhere by popular systems of government."

It is hoping, however, too much of human nature to expect that the majority or even a great number of Princes will be willing, of their own accord, to transfer the powers they now enjoy to popular control, it will be well-nigh impossible to limit their own wants to the necessities of the State. There will be mock assemblies, mock privy purses, the despots of old will appear in new raiment, pretty raiment to be sure, but, nevertheless, the raiment of humbug.

4

Theory is easier than practice, precept than example. Who will not agree with everything that the Nawab of Bhopal says about the true duties of Kingship :

" *The peace and contentment of the people to which I have just referred result from good government. I am still convinced that this is always possible in the States if we will only adopt well and clearly defined constitutions, based on true Indian ideals of Kingship, and strictly and honourable adhere to them. This is necessary, because, as far as we, the Princes, are concerned, it is only right and fair that, while we claim from the people our rights, as their rulers, we should at the same time fully realise our obligations and our duties to them. If we assert on the plea of religious and medieval doctrines, that it is the Divine will which puts a Ruler in power, and consequently the people should bow to it, we must also recognise that it is not the Divine will that such a Ruler should be a menace to his dynastic interests and to the interests of his people. A frim believer in my religion and a loyal follower of my Prophet, I believe that it is not fair to God, to Islam*

and to man, that a Ruler should lend himself to the belief that he is at liberty arbitrarily to sacrifice the rights and interests of his subjects, in order to satisfy his personal whims and caprices." (*Bhopal,* 21st September, 1929.)

And yet how many will find that these ideals are pursued and acted up in any commendable number of principalities? As Lord Frederic Hamilton maintains: "the fatal flaw in an Autocracy is that everything obviously hinges on the personal. character of the Autocrat. It would be absurd to expect an unbroken series of rulers of first class ability. It is for this reason that the succession to the Russian throne was, in theory at all events, not hereditary. The Tsars of old nominated their successors. In fact, to set any limitations to the power of an Autocrat would be a contradiction in terms."

No institution can for ever remain out of the purview of the tendencies of the age. No Ruler can afford, for any length of time, to ignore the essential tests of the virtues of his office. "One of the most emphasized words of the world to-day is 'test.' Thinking people are rapidly acquiring that frame of mind when they no longer take things for granted. Everything and everybody come within the rule and are tried, measured, experimented upon, until the last vestige of doubt is removed. One is continually testing or being tested.

What an epitome that is of what the world has gone through. How much, through the ages, must mankind have endured in the way of falsehood, dishonesty and fraud to bring about this condition. Some little of this will be found in what is undoubtedly one of the great books of the last century, *The Martyrdom of Man* by Windwood Reade. In its pages, one can find a vivid picture of the struggle through which our ancestors have gone, beset on every side by those who would exploit them, who in their turn were exploited by others.

To the individual test, at times, seems a harsh procedure. People like to be taken at their face value. The self-deluded have a hatred for the measuring-rod of accuracy. No man likes to be told by his physician that there is something wrong with him. No applicant for a position, or eager aspirant for a higher job, enjoys the decision that for some reason, which may or may not be given, someone else is preferred to him, no adminstration that it is inefficient, no Ruler that he is inept.

But in the end, such knowledge is good for us. It stimulates us to try and overcome difficulties. It forces us, whether we will or not, to " face the music " and prove or disprove certain facts.

What are the differences among men ? Essential differences. Are there any ? If so, how real are they in fact ?

No matter how far we explore into the realms of the rich and the poor, the mighty and the lowly, one fact cannot be lost sight of or overlooked, and that is that every one is human. Individual details may distinguish, but on the general there is little real or fundamental difference between man and man. The gulf that often divides society and races is created more by pure fortune or misfortune than by any real merit or demerit. Alexander was Alexander, because he was Phillip's son. Who knows how many Alexanders have died unknown because of the evil circumstances of their birth. Shallow are the so-called aristocracies of the world. They are born high, live no higher, prove of little merit. Merit is truly his that starts low upon the ladder and mounts the glittering pinnacles of fame. How shall we, to whom luck has been more than ordinarily kind look down on those that have never had a chance ?

There is good and evil in all men. Man is a complex heterodox of contradictions. The rich are sometimes thought more evil than the poor and the West more than the East—but in each case publicity magnifies the evil. In reality evil is inall men to whatever class, race or community they may belong. In many cases the crime is not in the evil itself but in the offence of getting found out. In the East End of London immorality is as rife as in the West End and *vice versa*. Paris is as good and bad as Cairo and Bombay as Vienna. Human nature is the same everywhere and the more one sees of the world the greater the tolerance because the more the evil.

In every country there are differences of sect, race, caste, creed and class. In some the gulf is of religion, in others it is wealth, in every case of immaterial and in consequential things. The common humanity of all men is overlooked. The system of divisions of men in unnatural groups of colour and class, the despotism of the priest and the hereditary buffoon who parades the world with a diamond tie pin are outrages which the world is slowly commencing to remedy. The light of the sun is for all, greater

opportunity, wider diffusion of science and learning will do much towards making a better and incidently a happier world.

All men reach certain levels, dependent upon the factors entering into their lives. To overcome those attributes that hold us back and strengthen those that help is the work of life. To size up needs and to meet them, an occasional test is necessary.

5

From the grey glimmerings on the dawn of history the problems of chance and change have been before the minds of men. We ask ourselves, were the great upheavals of society, the wrecks of which one sees strewn broadcast on the tracks of history, the mere results of accident and of chance happenings ? Causes latent or manifest, conscious or unconscious, are generally pressed. The desire for change is one of the primeval instincts of man, the relic of the age when man was little more than a nomadic animal. Greener nuts, brighter sunshine were the first wishes of our ancestors, the baboon and the ape. Man's instinct for change has survived and he seeks to move from evil to good and from good to better. The history of great movements is the history of conscious and deliberate effort to change society from one set of conditions to another set of conditions.

Nearly all the revolutions of which there is any record can in general be traced to a simple cause ; the government of ruling class has been out of touch with the people. One has only to refer back to history to find a host of instances. The Civil War in England, the French Revolution, and the Italian Risorgimento against the Papacy. More recently we have the revolution in Russia and the Egyptian revolt a few years ago. The chief causes of each of these have been either political, economic or religious. They were risings against aristocracies, which became oligarchies, monarchies, which degenerated into despotism and religion debased into superstition and priestly tyranny ; they were battles for freedom, for better and freer conditions of life. For such causes have revolutions been waged in the past ; for such causes will they be waged in the future. Whenever there is continued want of harmony and sympathy between the Government and the people, between rulers and ruled, between those in power and those less fortunate ; whenever arrogance and misconceived importance take the place of statesmanship and godliness, then will the world be lit with the white fires of change—the flames will be of righteousness and of justice. Every

movement for reform touches some vital string in the hearts of those it is to benefit. It is an appeal to the mind, reason and instincts of the members of the general public severally and collectively. It is above and different from anything which has gone before and different for different people.

6

The conditions prevalent in the Indian States to-day generally are such as to afford the strongest argument in favour of a change. Whether such changes will come about from the self-abnegation and patriotism of the Princely Order, whether it comes through fifty years of mandatory government as a sacred trust of civilisation, whether it will come by revolution, vile and hideous. It is too early to say.

As Sir M. Visheswar Iyer says, " the Indian States' Rulers have an example before them in the sacrifices made in the year 1871 by the Daimyos, or Feudal Lords of Japan, who surrendered their rights at the call of their country to facilitate its unification and social reorganization. The sacrifices, the Indian Princes are called upon to make on the present occasion, will be very light in comparison with those made by the Japanese nobility mentioned. All that the Princes are called upon to do is to carry on their administrations in the spirit of the times in consultation and in co-operation with the most capable of their subjects. They are asked to begin of their own accord the changes, which in a few years' time, will be forced upon them."

If a majority of Princes recognised this, if their administrations were built upon the foundations of modern government described by Lord Irwin, if their governments were the joyous records of kingship described by the Rulers of Bikaner and Bhopal, if the Maharaja of Rajpipla's statements to the London Press were even fifty per cent accurate, this book would not have been written. But then if everything is as it should be, why should the Chamber of Princes maintain such a costly publicity organisation ? Why should Professor Rushbrook Williams take all the trouble to tell the readers of the *Morning Post* " How a Prince spends his day ? " Professor Rushbrook Williams could tell us a lot about " How a Prince spends his night " (*vide* p. 304) but for such stuff the Chamber would refuse to pass the Bills. Professor Williams discharges his duties by the Chamber, we, by 62 millions and 250 millions, respectively, and hope as satisfactorily.

It is a truism that nobody has a right to live unless he is willing to progress with the times—that is the fundamental law of civilisation. Like all laws its operation is harsh at times—but it is a necessary and inevitable law. The sooner it is realised and understood, the better. It is in the interest of the people of this country to realise the truth, it is in their own interest that the Rulers of States should take stock. License and incompetence cannot last for ever. Sooner or later, if Czars get Swaraj, there must be a day of reckoning. Woe betide such a day! There will be a good clearance of rubbish.

To procrastinate, to temporise, may postpone but cannot thwart the inevitable.

> "*Ubi non est pudor*
> *Nec cura juris, sanctitas, fides*
> *Instable regnum est.*"

APPENDIX "A"

(*a*) Relative figures as to the finances of Indian States and Monarchies in other parts of the world are well illustrated in a comparison of the respective budgets, *e.g.*, comparative figures for Denmark and Bikaner.

	DENMARK (1930-31 Estimates)	BIKANER (1927-28)
REVENUE [Excluding in both cases the turnover of Railways]	Kr. 321,738,000 = Rs. 23,40,00,000	Rs. 58,65,000
EXPENDITURE		
Civil List	Kr. 1,000,000 = Rs. 7,00,000	Palace Rs. 13,56,000
Appanages	Kr. 72,000	
Risdag and Council of State	Kr. 2,658,000	Mahkmakhas. Rs. 3,13,000
Foreign Affairs	Kr. 4,744,000	Administration Rs. 8,58,000
Ecclesiastical affairs	Kr. 3,044,000	
Public Works	Kr. 9,209,000	Rs. 10,47,000*
Public Instruction	Kr. 62,467,000	Rs. 1,77,000
Justice	Kr. 16,615,000	Rs. 4,24,000
Interior	Kr. 29,269,000	Rs. 11,71,000
Social affairs	Kr. 75,847,000	Rs. 1,59,000
Agriculture	Kr. 10,130,000	
Army	Kr. 32,823,000	Rs. 7,18,000
Navy	Kr. 22,101,000	
Finance	Kr. 22,944,000	Rs. 53,000
Commerce & Industries	Kr. 3,892,000	Rs. 1,08,000
Navigation & fishing	Kr. 2,165,000	
Pensions	Kr. 12,159,003	Rs. 1,07,000
		Misc. 3,96,000

1£ : 18 Kr. : 13 Rs.

*** A considerable portion of this sum represents extension to the Lallgarh Palace and construction of the Delhi Palace.**

(*b*) How figures as to Privy Purses are manoeuvred is well illustrated by the figures for the Bikaner State as above referred to. On page 19 of the Administration Report for 1927-28 the following statement appears: "The proportion which the combined incidence of Privy Purse and Civil List bears to the total revenues of the State, which last year was slightly in excess of 11 per cent, has this year been reduced to only 10·21 per cent." The percentage on analysis will be found not to have been reckoned on the actual normal receipts but upon normal receipts plus extraordinary receipts such as sale of lands and occupancy rights and the *turnover* of the railways. The ordinary revenue is exhibited at Rs. 24,59,000 but of this Rs. 39,59,000 constitute the gross receipts of the railways! Extraordinary income is mainly represented by Rs. 33,69,000 from sale of canal lands and Rs. 1,54,000 from sale of occupancy rights, etc. On this basis the "Total Revenues" are calculated at 1,33,47,000 out of which the 'palace' is shown to have absorbed Rs. 18,36,000 and the percentage of 10·2 arrived at. Actually on normal income Bikaner "palace" appropriations amounting to Rs. 13,56,000 out of a reveuue of 58,65,000 the percentage is not 10·2 but 23·1 per cent. This latter percentage, however, excludes the Lallgarh Palace extensions and the expenditure on Delhi Palace. The statement that percentage is down from 11 per cent to 10·21 per cent is also window dressing. Actually the Ruler received about 11,000 Rs. more in 1927-28 than in 1926-27. This is a good example of the type of juggling to be found in many administrations to show a Ruler's appropriations as modest as possible.

(*d*) This example further proves the exorbitant percentage of payments to Indian Princes. The Maharaja of Bikaner, according to these figures, receives more than twice the Civil List of the King of Denmark from the normal revenues of the Bikaner State which are about 1 in 46 of the revenues of Denmark.

APPENDIX "B"

The new policy of the Government of India towards the States was authoritatively expressed in Udaipur in 1909 by Lord Minto :—

> "*Our policy is, with rare exceptions, one of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence and in undertaking their protection against external aggression it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed certain degree of*

responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and could not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole as well as those cf the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs and other services of an imperial character. But the relationship of the Supreme Government to the State is one of suzerainty. The foundation stone of the whole system is the recognition of indentity of interests between the Imperial Government and Durbars and the minimum of interference with the latter in their own affairs."

APPENDIX "C"

All States are by no means large, and some are very small indeed. As to how federation can be possible maintaining the "Sovereignty and integrity" of all 562 States is a problem for the Round Table Conference. And what must be the measure of the "Sovereignty" of States such as these in the Surat Agency ?

AMALA—119 sq. mls. Pop. 4,682, Annual Rev. Rs. 3,823.
AVACHAR—1 sq. ml., Pop. 32, Annual Rev. Rs. 72.
CHINCHLI GADED—27 sq. mls., Pop. 1051, Annual Rev. Rs. 662.
DERBHAVTI—76 sq. mls., Pop. 2,935, Annual Rev. Rs. 3,978.
GADHI—170 sq. mls Pop. 5,447, Annual Rev. Rs. 6,111.
KIRLI—21 sq. mls., Pop. 1,021, Annual Rev. Rs. 777.
PALASVHIR—2 sq. mls., Pop. 189, Annual Rev. Rs. 129.
PIMPLADEVI—3 sq. mls., Pop. 73, Annual Rev. Rs. 158.
PIMPRI—72 sq. mls. Pop. 2,223, Annual Rev. Rs. 4,000.
SHIVBARA—4 sq, mls. Pop. 152, Annual Rev. Rs. 428.
VADHYAWAN—4 sq. mls., Pop, 54, Annual Rev. Rs. 153.
VASURNA—132 sq. mls., Pop. 5,337, Annual Rev. Rs. 3,810.
ZARI GARKHADI—8 sq. mls,, Pop. 700, Annual Rev. Rs. 75.

APPENDIX "D"

Prof. Rushbrook Williams may tell the British public that some Princes spend several hours a day at their desks, in rituals, and ablutions, but is he unaware of the squalor and vice that disgrace not a few State administrations to-day, and the time, money

and effort spent in amazing projects. What is the explanation when girls' schools form parts of a regular organisation for seduction, or diabolical methods are devised to abduct women for the royal gratification? Can he or any of the now many propagandists for the Princes say that all or nearly all is well?

> "*In the beginning the profligacy of the Nawabs of the State was confined to the four walls of the palace but the present incumbent of the* gaddi *has spread his 'blessings' throughout the city. He fearlessly enters the houses of his officials and does not care a bit for anybody's honour or respect. Old hags and procuresses search every house in the city for a likely prey. The Nawab is always kept well informed as to who has a beautiful wife or daughter or sister or daughter-in-law. On the receipt of such a report, disgraceful plans for their abduction and seduction are shamelessly hatched and carried out. Girls' schools are opened but not to spread female education. They are in fact farms to produce 'pullets' for the Nawab, who is diseased. In short, the city has been reduced to such a state that no one can keep the ladies of the family there. Respectable people from outside now living there dare not send for their families to come and live with them. So far only the palace was a brothel but now thanks to his efforts, the whole of the State has become one.*"
>
> (From the *Vernacular Circ., 1917*)

> "*The Secretary reported that one of the women informers had informed him that a Kashmiri Maulvi, who had recently joined the State service and was working in the Government School had an extremely beautiful daughter, about 14 years old. On hearing this, His Highness asked the Secretary to arrange a marriage, but on being informed that the girl's father would not agree to it, suggested a novel method of procuring the girl: 'I want to oblige "Z," therefore, ask him to present a comlaint to me stating that the Maulvi (the girl's father) has abducted his (Z's) sister and praying that his sister and her children may be returned to him (Z). On receipt of this complaint I shall pass a decree in favour of the complainant so that the Maulvi's wife with her children may be forfeited to the State; then you can send the girl to the Palace and hand over her mother and the other children to "Z." His Highness added that in past times Rulers used to bestow beautiful maidens and handsome boys whenever they were pleased with anybody, but the English people had stopped the custom and*

that he had thus found out a new method of circumventing the instructions of the British Government in this respect." *(Ibid.)*